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THE GIFT OF

Mrs. J. Leslie French

M. J. J. Caulfield.

Gibraltar,

June 1845.

From his affectionate sc

No 4 S. H. Gaut

James C. French

1768

MEMOIR

OF

A MISSION TO GIBRALTAR AND SPAIN.

CAPT. CARTER, PINX.

GIBRALTAR, SEEN FROM ACROSS THE BAY.

MEMOIR

OF

A MISSION TO GIBRALTAR AND SPAIN,

WITH

COLLATERAL NOTICES

OF

EVENTS FAVOURING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,

AND OF

THE DECLINE OF ROMISH POWER IN THAT COUNTRY,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY,
TO THE YEAR 1842.

BY THE REV. W. H. RULE.

"THY way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known."

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN MASON,
AT THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE OFFICE, 14, CITY-ROAD;
AND SOLD AT 66, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1844.

BV
3120
.R93

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JAMES NICHOLS,
HOXTON-SQUARE.

Stacks
Gift
Mrs. J. Leslie French
4-7-69
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PREFACE.

THE small volume now presented to the public was prepared in the hope that it might serve the cause of Christ, by exhibiting a brief account of the religious state of Spain during that important period of European history which commences towards the close of the last century.

If the author could have obtained leisure from the performance of other duties, he might have made a larger collection of subordinate details; but he trusts that all the leading events of the time are stated with sufficient clearness to enable the reader to trace the hand of God in the great moral revolution which is in progress in that part of Europe; and in which British Christians might perform a prominent part, by establishing in that country, for themselves, "the means of grace;" and, as far as their legitimate influence extends, by affording a similar privilege to others.

These pages are not encumbered by many references to authorities and documents to which English readers could not have access; and as there is no attempt made to conceal important facts, such minute attestation becomes unnecessary. The events related are public; they recently occurred; most of them are well known in England; and

as those portions of the work which embrace a detail of the proceedings of the Wesleyan Missionary Society contain nothing that is exaggerated or marvellous, the author feels confident that his testimony to the general character of the Spaniards, as being willing to hear the truth, will not be disputed.

To the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society he is indebted for cordial support during the most interesting years of his past life; and he rejoices in the persuasion, that the extending operations of that Institution in Continental Europe will be supported with increasing liberality by the friends of Missions, and crowned by abundant manifestations of divine favour in the conversion of multitudes to the fold of Christ, through the instrumentality of an increasing company of zealous and indefatigable labourers.

WILLIAM H. RULE.

Lynn, March 14th, 1844.

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MEMOIR

OF A

MISSION TO GIBRALTAR AND SPAIN.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Observations—Extension of vital Christianity to Gibraltar—Persecution sustained by Methodists in that Garrison—Death of their first Missionary—Epidemic—Eventual Establishment of the Mission—Difficulties overcome—Beneficial Operations.

It was said by an old Spanish writer, when proceeding to detail in Panamá the history of a part of South America, that the *echoes* of events on that continent were *spent* while crossing the Atlantic towards the shores of Spain. Occasional notices, however clear, and official communications, however detailed and faithful, had not sufficed to produce a correct general view of things in the public mind at home.

The writer of this Memoir addresses himself to his work under a similar conviction. He has not failed to communicate in various ways the substance of much that will now appear in a connected form; and he employs an interval of involuntary retirement from the more important part of the field of labour in review-

ing occurrences in a connexion which could not be so definitely represented until they were past. The object proposed in this employment, is to place on record the result of much anxious inquiry, and of some effort, during upwards of ten years, on behalf of Spain, in order that the Christian public, having hitherto heard of little else than persecutions and expulsions, may not be discouraged, nor despair of the introduction of the Gospel into that country, but rather be aroused to such efforts as the circumstances of the case demand, and as the events and incidents now detailed may be deemed sufficiently cheering to invite. And while soliciting the attention of the reader, he prayerfully hopes for the directive influences of the Holy Spirit, that his narrative may be in some degree conducive to a more practical sympathy with one of the finest, yet most wretched and most neglected, nations of Europe, among whose inhabitants there is not at this moment even *one* Preacher of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Historical and geographical notices of the Peninsula are always at hand. Politics, romance, and poetry have here abundant association; and the Romish hierarchy has drawn hence much of its support, and exercised its horrid power with eminent barbarity; but, as a scene of Christian piety and evangelical enterprise, it is scarcely mentioned by historians. The standard work on the imperfect, partial, and short-lived Reformation in the sixteenth century, is that written by Dr. M'Crie, intituled, "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain." It is well known as an interesting and instructive volume, compiled from miscellaneous materials at the cost of long and patient research. But it is not possible to suppress the feeling of sorrow, nay, of indignation, which is excited on every reference to Protestantism among Spaniards, by observing the apathy, and even the timi-

dity, with which Great Britain has too frequently shrunk from an honest avowal of her religious doctrines in relation to Spain, and from determinately claiming the free enjoyment of their most sacred privileges for Englishmen, sojourning or resident there; as if we were overawed by the unflinching array of bigotry exhibited by the Romish priesthood and its vassaled Sovereigns and people.

Yet there have been times in which England could dare to assert its religious freedom, and to support its representatives abroad in maintaining their dignity as Protestants. Take, as an example, the anecdote related by Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Time, (vol. i., p. 80,) which is copied verbatim in the note below, in contrast with some passages in the present volume, relative to occurrences of a more recent date.*

* "His" (Cromwell's) "maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign countries gratified the vanity which is very natural to Englishmen," (as well as to *other* men,) "of which he was so careful, that, though he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambassadors had all the respects paid them which our Kings' Ambassadors ever had. He said, the dignity of the Crown was upon account of the nation, of which the King was only the representative head; so, the nation being still the same, he would have the same regards paid to his Ministers.

"Another instance of this pleased him much. Blake, with the fleet, happened to be at Malaga before he made war upon Spain; and some of his seamen went ashore, and met the hostie carried about, and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those who did: so one of the Priests put the people on resenting the indignity, and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship, they complained of this usage; and upon that, Blake sent a trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Priest who was the chief instrument in that ill usage. The Viceroy answered, *he had no authority over the Priests*, and so could not dispose of him. Blake, upon that, sent him word, that he would not inquire who had power to send the Priest to him, but if he were not sent within three hours, he would burn their town;

As it was in Gibraltar that the operations of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Spain have been concerted, and as it continues to be the station from whence they are directed, and might be carried out still more extensively, it may be proper to give to it the first place in the narrative, and thus prepare the reader for the frequent mention which must be made of it hereafter.

From the time that the Rock was taken by assault by a small British force in the year 1704, until very lately, although it has been entirely under the dominion of England, and always occupied by a strong garrison, with many professedly Protestant English residents, scarcely any effort had been made to diffuse the truths of Christianity among the people, and little regard had been shown even for its external observances.

But the revival of religion, which took place at home by the instrumentality of a few holy and zealous men in the earlier part of the last century, which spread its influences beyond the seas, gave rise to Christian societies in the colonies, and even tended to relieve the horrors of war in the army and navy, extended, in some degree, to Gibraltar.

It appears that upwards of seventy years ago, perhaps earlier, the power of divine grace was experienced by a few persons in this garrison; and there is reason to believe that the light then kindled

and they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the Priest to him, who justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. Blake answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place at which he touched; but he took it ill that he set on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman; and so he treated the Priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy."

was never totally extinguished. The authority on which this statement rests, is a garrison-order issued by Lord Cornwallis, on June 9th, 1769: "Whereas divers soldiers and inhabitants assemble themselves every evening to prayer, it is the Governor's positive order that no person whatever presume to molest them, nor go into their meeting to behave indecently there." This document needs no comment: it is in itself a sufficient testimony to the humane and Christian feeling of the nobleman at that time in command; and it is the more gratifying to give to it publicity, as it stands in honourable contrast with subsequent proceedings of a very different kind.

The following account of the origin and progress of religion in connexion with Methodism in Gibraltar, communicated by a soldier, was published in one of the early Methodist Magazines, and has been fully verified by subsequent inquiry:—

"In March, 1792, the 46th, 51st, and 61st regiments arrived at Gibraltar from Ireland. In them were ten or eleven persons who feared God, one of whom preached, and two exhorted. They first met in a private room, not knowing whether they would be permitted to meet in public. But when they began to sing, many people flocked about the door, entreating for admittance, which was granted. Fearing, however, that they might incur the displeasure of the Governor, they petitioned him for permission to assemble together to worship God. Hearing they belonged to the Methodist Connexion, he readily consented, hoping they would not neglect their duty as soldiers. Immediately after this a large room was taken; but it would not contain one half of the people. Another, about twice as large, was immediately secured at one guinea per month. Many began to be concerned about the salvation of their souls, some of whom did not rest until they knew, by their experience, that Christ had power on

earth to forgive sins. Our number," says the correspondent, "soon increased to about fifty. Before the war broke out in 1793, it was one hundred and twenty. I believe about fifty of these were truly converted to God; and some of them left a testimony of the truth of it to the world a short time after, when they expired, wallowing in their own gore on the field of battle.

"All this time, however, the enemy was not idle; for he raised much opposition from every quarter. Two or three gentlemen importuned the Governor to put a stop to our meetings; but the Lord, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, overthrew their counsel. General O'Hara is said to have replied: 'Let them alone: I wish there were twenty for one of them, and we should have fewer Court-Martials in the garrison than we have.' Nevertheless, the persecution did not cease; for we were reproached on every hand, and all manner of evil was spoken against us falsely. This had one good effect; for such as did not receive the seed into good ground soon withered away; but the hands of the faithful were strengthened, and their hearts united, by the love of God; so that we frequently found the Lord present in our little assemblies, and particularly at our love-feasts. These, indeed, often proved times of refreshing. Our society seemed now well settled; but the war occasioned the removal of the troops: some were sent to the West Indies, others to Toulon and Corsica; by which, in about twelve months, our number was reduced to twenty; yet we continued to meet regularly, some being always present who could give a word of exhortation. In August, 1796, the 28th regiment arrived from England, among whom there were a few who preached. The novelty of an officer preaching drew many to hear the Gospel. The Lord did not suffer the word to return void; for, to a number, it was, I trust, the power of God unto salvation. Our society increased; the place was too

small for the congregations, so that we were obliged to take a larger room. With this revival, fresh persecutions commenced. The Commanding Officer of a regiment issued an order, that no man belonging to his regiment was to attend the Methodist meetings, upon pain of being punished for disobedience. Application was made in vain to have the order rescinded: however, the regiment was shortly sent to England, as was also the young officer mentioned above. But there being some left to speak in the name of Christ, their labour was not in vain; for the number increased of those who sought redemption in the blood of Christ. It was thought advisable to build a chapel, as we were paying at this time above two guineas per month for the room. The chapel was accordingly built without delay; the expense of which amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds sterling. Our brethren were so desirous of the prosperity of Sion, that each gave freely of what the Lord had blessed him; and when the house was finished, there was not a farthing of debt left upon it. This was a great encouragement to us. Our number at this time was about sixty, and our congregations amounted to between two and three hundred people.

"We had been but a short time settled in our new chapel, when the regiments of which our society chiefly consisted were ordered on the expedition to Minorca; and shortly after, several were sent to Malta and to Egypt. Thus we were again reduced to about fourteen or fifteen. Yet, blessed be God, there have always been a few to keep the house open for the worship of God; and although the enemies of the cross have often striven to overturn the work, we always found that no weapon formed against us prospered, and they who were for us were more than all that could be against us.

"When I left them, in June last, our numbers were

about thirty-five, and our congregations frequently about two hundred. There was then a young man, a schoolmaster, that preached; and another, a clerk, that exhorted. On the Sabbath and on Thursdays there is preaching; and on the other nights of the week exhortations are given, or prayer-meetings are held. And that every thing may be done decently and in order, we have a Committee consisting of eleven members; one of whom is the Leader, and another the Steward. These meet as often as occasion requires, to consider the best method of conducting the temporal and the spiritual affairs of the society. The Steward reads over the accounts and the resolutions of the Committee once a month to the society. Our Leader is set apart to his office by solemn prayer; who also administers the Lord's supper to the society once a month.* Further, no one is admitted a member amongst us until he has been two months on trial, unless we know that he has been serious before: then, if there be no objection, he is admitted, with public prayer. This we think a prudent plan to prevent reproach from being brought on the cause of God by unworthy members. We were led to this from having suffered much from that quarter in times past. If any among us walk disorderly, we admonish him, and bear with him for a season; but if he still continue to walk disorderly, and contrary to the Gospel, we then, at a public meeting, declare him to be no more of us."

The writer of the letter, (dated Edinburgh, Nov. 18th, 1801,) of which the above is an extract, has made it evident that those early proceedings were characterized by prudence as well as piety; and that although they were a flock without a shepherd, they used all practi-

* Here is a system of Church government suggested in a foreign country among a few persons peculiarly circumstanced, but not intended to be permanent, and after a time superseded by Methodism.

cable means to make up the defect among themselves. A second letter, written by the same person, (December 4th, 1801,) illustrates the diffusion of experimental religion by means of good men in the army and navy.

"In my last," says this pious soldier, "I communicated a short account of the work of God in Gibraltar. Blessed be the Lord, the work was not wholly confined to that place; for by the removal of different regiments to Minorca, Malta, and Egypt, the Gospel was carried to those places. And though I have not the happiness to inform you that any of the natives were brought to the knowledge of the truth, yet some of our countrymen were enlightened, and led to see their need of a Saviour. In Minorca, meetings were held regularly in different parts of the island, where three of our brethren preached the Gospel; and I believe their labour was not in vain; for a considerable number was added to them, who evidenced their sincerity by their respect to the commands of God. Since my arrival in Scotland, I have learned by a letter from my friends in Gibraltar, that there is a society formed in Malta,* and I doubt not but good will be done there; for I know that there are some there who have felt the Gospel to be the power of God in their souls, and are zealous advocates for the truth as it is in Jesus. May the Lord cause the little cloud to spread over that barren wilderness in the Mediterranean, until it become a fruitful field. Of Egypt, I can give no particular account at present, whether our friends ever had an opportunity of meeting together or not.

"In my last I forgot to acquaint you that at different times the 'Terpsichore' frigate was repairing in Gibraltar harbour. Some of her crew came to our meetings, and by means of the word preached, together with religious pamphlets which were given

* Malta subsequently became a Mission station.

away, seven or eight were brought to the knowledge of the truth, and when on board, met together to read and pray as often as duty would permit. I ought not to omit what to me appears a strong proof of their love to the Gospel,—that having received a considerable sum of prize-money, each contributed what he could spare, and they sent on shore to the Steward of the society forty dollars; and every time that their ship entered our harbour, they lost no opportunity of coming ashore to the means of grace.

"On board the 'Hector,' of seventy-four guns, there was one who was convinced of sin by hearing the Gospel in England. When he came to Gibraltar, he attended our meetings; those who had them to spare, distributed tracts and other books; so that in a short time five others saw their need of turning to the Lord. In the 'Defence,' of seventy-four guns, there was also a number of the sailors who met regularly in the cable-tier, one of whom preached. While the ships lay in our harbour repairing, one of our friends went on board and preached to them. There were two or three pious men on board the 'Incendiary,' fire-ship, and some on board the transports, who attended our meeting when they had opportunity. I also heard that there was a considerable number on board the 'Queen,' of ninety-eight guns, but never saw any of them. I think that the praying few belonging to the navy are in a particular sense entitled to the prayers of every Christian; for surely they have trials with which none on shore are acquainted."

But after a season of prosperity and comfort, the good people were called to share with their brethren elsewhere in the reproach of Christ. A Mr. Wetherell, garrison Chaplain, appears to have been their first active persecutor; and he, as is usual, found others willing enough to help him to crush the few who were worshipping God in spirit and in truth. He was

incensed that they could not trust themselves to him for pastoral direction. But his chief supporter was a brother Clergyman, a Mr. Hughes, Chaplain to the Duke of Kent, at that time in Gibraltar, the Governor of the garrison; and they left no stone unturned, and scarcely a threat unspared, in order to extirpate those *democrats*, as they were pleased to call them. A memorial therefore was addressed to His Royal Highness, dated October 2d, 1802, signed by three persons, (not soldiers,) complaining of their aggressions, and *most humbly* soliciting protection. To this the Duke deigned to reply, that it was far from being his intention to interfere with their mode of divine worship, or to deprive their *sect* of any *indulgences* or privileges which had been hitherto granted it, *so long as they continued to merit the same*, by a correct and faithful adherence to the true spirit and tenets of the Christian religion. As if His Royal Highness could have rightfully withheld religious liberty from his countrymen while placed in authority over them; or as though he could have set himself in judgment over their theological persuasion, and bound or loosed them at his pleasure. Then, after this marvellous concession of *indulgence*, he "intimated to them, that, for many reasons, *he did not wish* that their meetings should be so much frequented by the military part of the garrison." His *wish*, of course, was, in effect, command; as the memorialists and their brethren soon felt to their sorrow. As long as the Duke remained in Gibraltar, he avoided giving direct sanction to any act of open persecution, while abundance of annoyance and abuse was bestowed on the Methodists by the Chaplains and others without any check; and as soon as he returned to England, his *locum tenens*, and the subordinate military authorities, opened fire again on the defenceless flock, as is described in a letter, dated June 21st, 1803, by Mr. Robert Brand, the worthy clerk already referred to,

and one of the Preachers. "His Highness," he says, "had not sailed from this place three weeks, when the Colonel of the Queen's avowed himself. He issued an order, forbidding all soldiers under his command to preach, *or to attend the Methodist chapel*, under pain of being tried for disobedience. About six days after, on the 29th of May, Major-General Barnett sent a written summons to Mr. Burn, the schoolmaster, to call upon him at his office. On attending, without being charged with any crime, but as if we had been already tried and condemned, and he had been sent for merely to receive sentence, he was commanded not to hold any more meetings, under pain of being sent to the prison of the Provost, and out of the town. I, with three of our friends, went to General Barnett the same day, hoping to convince him that we had been misrepresented. We used various arguments, but to no purpose. The substance of what he said was, 'that the business was determined on, and therefore would not be investigated, or further looked into.' He pretended to be highly offended at our mentioning that we always advised the soldiers to be obedient to orders. He said Commanding Officers had represented our chapel as a nuisance; and on my answering, 'It is possible we may have been misrepresented,' he grew quite outrageous, calling me an insolent fellow, scoundrel, &c., demanding my name; and through the whole of the conversation he showed that overbearing, tyrannical spirit which refuses to hear reason; he manifested the most determined contempt of religion, flatly saying he cared not whether we worshipped God or the devil, or *virtue* or *vice*, when we offended him. His Highness's letter he refused to look at, saying he did not care a farthing for His Highness's permission. We found ourselves under the necessity of applying to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Thomas Trigge; but with little hope of success. However, we received an

answer, intimating that he did not intend to deprive us of our mode of worship, but for many reasons would not allow the soldiers to assemble or associate with us. This, my dear friend, you know, was striking at the root, and effectually preventing the Gospel from doing further good at Gibraltar. Our friends in the other regiments, seeing they could not meet any more with us, met at brother Ballentine's house. Colonel Ramsey, as if not satisfied with preventing his men from assembling together for prayer, gave a verbal order, forbidding any three that were Methodists from walking or conversing together. A few of them then took courage, and wrote him a letter, requesting that they might not be prevented walking or conversing with each other. He sent for those persons on a Sunday morning; spoke freely and mildly, denying that he had given any such order, and saying that the whole regiment might walk together if they pleased. Thinking it a proper opportunity, they further asked permission to meet together to read the Bible, and join in prayer to God. At first he refused, and exclaimed against the Preachers, calling them 'rascals, who meant to lead the men to hell,' &c. However, after a little more talk, he told them that *they might meet where they liked*, but that if Mr. Burn preached to them, the Town Major had orders to send him to the Provost. The poor fellows, thinking they had now full liberty, met at our friend Ballentine's house with the other soldiers. They had met five nights; but on the sixth, as they were coming out of the door, they found the Sergeant-Major there, who sent five of them to the guard-house. They were tried the next day. The Colonel denied having given them leave to meet; and without being permitted to speak at any length in their defence, (for when they attempted it, they were silenced with, 'Hold your tongue! we don't want you to preach to us!') they were condemned, and sentenced

to receive five hundred lashes. Two of them, being Corporals, *were reduced the same evening, and actually did receive two hundred lashes each.* The rest were forgiven for the present, but with this threat, that if they were found going to a religious meeting any more, the sentence would be put into execution without any further trial. One of these was a lad about fourteen years old. The case of these men is peculiarly distressing. They have left their native home to serve their country, have exposed themselves to all dangers; on the sea, to storms and tempests; on the land, to breathe the hot, pestilential air of the West Indies and Egypt, and to the cannon of the enemy. And after all these dangers, because they are endeavouring to seek the salvation of their souls, according to the dictates of their conscience, allowed by the laws of their country, they are punished in a most cruel manner, as enemies of the State. If it be a crime for a soldier to seek for eternal life, it will be a crime soon for him to think he has a soul. I have been very circumstantial in this business, hoping you will be able to do something for us. At least, I request that this account may be published by the society."

This communication was published accordingly, under the sanction of the Committee of Privileges, as were also copies of various official documents, and among them one which may be republished here as a curiosity, it being, as we may hope, unique in its kind.

"*Proceedings of a Regimental Court-Martial, held by order of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsey, at Gibraltar, June 11th,* 1803.

"*President.*—Captain Parker.

"*Members.*—Lieutenant Scott, Lieutenant Rutter, Lieutenant Smith, Ensign Johnston.

"*Prisoners.*—Corporals James Lamb and Richard

Russell. Privates James Hampton, John Reeves, and John Fluccard, of the Queen's regiment, confined by Serjeant-Major Wright, for unsoldierlike conduct, in attending a Methodist meeting, contrary to regimental orders.

"*Evidence.*—Serjeant-Major Wright informed the Court, that last evening, the 10th instant, coming down the lane leading to the officers' quarters, he saw a number of men coming out of a house. Among the rest, he saw the prisoners. Upon asking one of them, (James Hampton,) what he did there, he replied, that he had been to meeting.

"Quarter-Master Serjeant Sunderland corroborated the above evidence.

"The prisoners, being put on their defence, acknowledged being at a meeting by themselves, for which they pleaded the Colonel's verbal permission; but denied being with the inhabitants.

"The Court, having considered the evidence against the prisoners, are of opinion that they are GUILTY of the crime laid to their charge, in breach of a regimental order, and do sentence Corporals Lamb and Russell to be reduced, and the whole to receive FIVE HUNDRED LASHES EACH.

("Approved,)
"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL RAMSEY,
"Commanding Officer, Queen's Regiment."

There are several aggravating circumstances noticed in the pamphlet from which the above statement is extracted, which show that the sentence of the Court-Martial had been predetermined by the Colonel; but at this distance of time they may be well forgotten.

The whole affair was afterwards represented by our authorities at home to the War Office; and it is gratifying to be able to say, that, with one slight exception, which has recently occurred, there has been no autho-

rized persecution in Gibraltar from that time to the present, nor is there likely to be again. For some time, however, the officers in power were relentless; and for upwards of seven months one of the congregation was constantly posted at the door of the chapel, to prevent soldiers, however desirous, from entering to join with them in the worship of Almighty God, lest any apparent "disobedience of orders" should bring down tenfold vengeance on their heads. At the expiration of that time General Fox assumed the command of the garrison; and, on receiving an application from the leaders of the congregation, granted their prayer, yet held the tight military rein, making the concession but verbally, permitting them to carry on their meetings, and saying, that *he did not wish* to turn a single soldier out of their chapel, *so long as they conducted themselves properly*.*

But we pass on to other subjects.

It was evident that, however pious the individuals composing this little association might be, however prudent and even gifted, they could neither enjoy, to its full extent, a Christian ministry, with its solemn ordinances and steady discipline, while destitute of a head, nor could they easily obtain redress, if exposed to similar persecutions. In compliance, therefore, with their earnest petition, the Conference of 1804 appointed the Rev. James M'Mullen to be their Minister; and Gibraltar, therefore, appears on the Minutes of that year, as taken within the boundary of our church. He landed here in the month of September, during the first indications of an epidemic fever. The silence of death, interrupted only by its visible horrors, soon reigned throughout the place. The dwellings were deserted by the affrighted tenants, or

* I have myself been favoured by a Lieutenant-Governor with promise of protection for my flock, *so long as they should deserve it.* Thus Herod protected John the Baptist for a time.

made desolate by the death of such as had not fled, while as yet flight had not been rendered impracticable by the sanatory regulations of the adjacent country. The pestilence was awfully aggravated by drought and famine. The people fainted and expired under the intensity of an unmitigated heat. Expedients suggested by superstition or despair, seemed more like preparations for death, than preservatives of life. Excess of wretchedness steeled the hearts of the lower classes, and changed them into savages; hiring themselves, at exorbitant wages, to perform for the sick those offices which humanity should have rendered spontaneously, or they supplied their starving companions in misery with insufficient morsels and scanty draughts, at arbitrary and daily-increasing prices. Coffins could no longer be furnished for the dead, nor funeral rites performed. Half-infected soldiers were seen reluctantly patrolling the streets, searching the houses, and compelling the panic-struck natives to carry out the corpses of the poor, whether of relatives or strangers, and drop them promiscuously into trenches, opened day by day to receive the multitudes of dead.

Unable to procure a dwelling for themselves, Mr. and Mrs. M'Mullen and their infant child had been received into the house of a friend. Their child sickened; and they would have abandoned their shelter, although they knew not where to find a lodging, dreading lest the malady should be communicated from this first victim to their hosts. But their intimation of such a purpose elicited from them the declaration, that they should not stir, but they would run all risks, and share their last morsel, or, if God should will it, the last moments of their life, with them. The babe recovered; but they both sickened and died. Their friends escaped the contagion; and Mr. Michael Caulfield (for the name of this warm-

hearted Irishman should be gratefully recorded) watched by them, and waited on them in their sickness, gave their bodies decent burial, as far as that could be done at such a time, and took charge of their orphan child until she could be restored to her native country. Our venerable chronologist, Mr. Myles, relates these circumstances, and expresses his confidence that the Lord will reward this good man and his wife, for their kindness to his servants in a strange land. He has not seen it good to repay them with temporal abundance, but with what is infinitely better, the conversion of a part of their numerous family, whom the writer of these pages has had the happiness of seeing gathered into the fold of Christ, and of hearing the testimony of one, as she departed this life, of the power of Christ to save; and he yet hopes and prays, that of the remainder not one may be left behind.

Mr. M'Mullen stated before his death, that when he took charge of the society, it consisted but of twelve persons, none of the soldiers daring to join in their communion; but that of those twelve, three had already died, and the remaining nine were spending the day on which he wrote in fasting and prayer, in their respective houses. It is remarkable, that not one of these died. A thousand fell at their side, and thousands at their right hand; but the pestilence came not nigh them.

After the restoration of health to the garrison, the Lieutenant-Governor was again petitioned to allow the few surviving pious soldiers to unite with their brethren in prayer to Almighty God; but even then he was relentless, and their petition was rejected. Mr. M'Mullen had preached but twice to a few persons assembled in Mr. Caulfield's house, thus mournfully opening his commission and finishing his work.

The establishment of a Mission there was for that

time suspended; and it was not until after the lapse of four years that the Rev. William Griffith was appointed to resume the undertaking. He was welcomed joyfully; and his laborious and indefatigable discharge of those duties which devolve on a Missionary pioneer were owned of God, and are still gratefully remembered by a few. He exerted himself, without loss of time, in order to the erection of a suitable chapel. A small piece of ground was purchased; and, under the sanction of the Crown, it was made over to the Mission by letters patent in November, 1809; and Providence chapel, as it was named by its founders, was opened for divine worship early in 1811.

The forbearing and unassuming temper manifested by the Minister and members of this congregation, and their avowed desire to show all possible respect to their Protestant brethren in Gibraltar, ought to have conciliated esteem, and drawn forth some expression of sympathy, at least, from those whose mission, like their own, was presumed to be for the conversion of sinners to Christ. But there is no record nor recollection of any friendly correspondence between the parties. The Methodists were scowled on as intruders; and every successful effort of theirs to do good, served only to vex those who should have laboured with them.

Scarcely had Mr. Griffith's successor, the Rev. T. Davis, entered on his labours, when an occasion occurred for the display of this unkindly spirit. A deceased child of one of the Methodists, which had been baptized by their own Minister, was taken to the public burial-ground to be interred; when the garrison Chaplain, conceiving that one baptized out of the pale of his own communion ought not to be interred by him, refused, at first, to read the Burial Service. Some altercation ensued, and the Chaplain yielded; but on application being made to His Excellency

General Don, and by him referred to England, it was directed that the north-east part of the public burial-ground should be allotted to the complainants for their use; and thus the only provision was made for the prevention of misunderstanding which either of the parties could reasonably desire, and the due exercise of their respective functions was guaranteed to the Ministers concerned. It was certainly unkind to refuse Christian burial to the deceased relatives of persons who were not in a condition to provide it themselves; but it must ever be painful to the Pastors and members of Christian churches to beg this last office for their dead, from those who have had no religious connexion with them while living.

The circumstance, however, was favourable to the rising cause of our brethren in Gibraltar. Not only was an allotment of ground made for the interment of their dead, but their Pastor was thenceforth recognised by His Majesty's representative as entitled to public protection, was provided, in common with other Clergymen, with instructions as to the performance of certain duties; and in order to render this protection more marked and certain, it was directed that he should receive a daily ration as a civil officer: and up to the present time the same recognition has been invariably continued.

The English population of Gibraltar consists chiefly of the military corps, staff and civil departments, together with a few merchants and tradesmen. According to the census of the civil population of the year 1840, there were but 11,313 persons designated British subjects, and but 1,343 Protestants; the total population being 15,554, of whom 1,620 were Jews, 12,577 Roman Catholics, and 14 Mohammedans. The habits of these persons in a place where the dregs of all the neighbouring countries contribute to make up the aggregate, and where a living is obtained, not

so much by honest labour and honourable commerce, as by supplying the army with provisions, and smuggling British goods into Spain, in violation of the laws of the country, (whether good or bad, is not the question,) cannot be industrious or moral. The army, too, has its peculiar vices; especially that of drunkenness, which prevails to an awful extent; and the enjoyment and practice of piety cannot possibly be maintained there without a high degree of the grace of God. But this grace is not withheld from those who seek it; and there has been a constant succession of devout soldiers of various ranks, from the rise of a little church out of three regiments, a full half-century ago, to the present time. From year to year there is a constant transfer of members to England, and to the several military posts to which the regiments proceed. From time to time examples of eminent piety and holy zeal have appeared among them; and strangers from our own and other churches, passing through or sojourning here, have been surprised and edified by the unexpected discovery of a band of believers, walking in the light of God's countenance, and exhibiting unity and devotedness not inferior to what is experienced by their brethren at home. Many examples might be given; but one may suffice, as extracted from the private journal of Captain F. M. Tripp, of the 26th regiment. He is now departed to be with Christ. After describing the state of his mind and conscience from childhood, he writes thus: "The warfare of the flesh and spirit continued until the spring of the year 1817, my first attendance at the Methodist service in Gibraltar. Pious impressions then became rooted; and in the beginning of the following year I resolved, by God's blessing, to devote myself a living sacrifice, and earnestly to work out my salvation with fear and trembling." He joined a class, and afterwards became a Local Preacher; and among occasional

notices of his experience, there is one dated May 5th, 1819, from which a few expressions are transcribed as illustrative of the above statement. "Religious experience of all men is the same in substance. I know no people who have so much experience and enjoyment in religion as the Methodists. How excellent is the discipline which enfolds their little flocks from the common of the world! I felt much anxiety that success, ability, and grace should rest upon our new Methodist Minister, and offered prayer from the heart for him; and his second sermon gave me much comfortable additional light on my own state." Large extracts might be made demonstrative of the sound and elevated experience of this pious officer, both while in Gibraltar, and after his return to England, where he finished his course triumphantly.

A letter from Captain Tripp appears in the Magazine of January, 1820, stating that an Auxiliary Missionary Society had been formed here; of which the formation of an Auxiliary to the Naval and Military Bible Society had been an immediate result. A Bethel Society was also established shortly afterwards, and continued in active operation for some years, until the removal of those who had been best able to facilitate its operations. The British and Foreign Bible Society followed, and has had a depository ever since, from which large supplies of holy Scriptures, chiefly Spanish, have been distributed. The British and Foreign Tract Society has sent out liberal grants, and the proceedings of the American Tract Society will be hereafter noticed. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews has also contributed; but no systematic effort has been made for this interesting people, although there are probably more than two thousand of them actually resident, a large proportion of whom are in constant correspondence with Barbary.

CHAPTER II.

Religious Society in Gibraltar characterized—Defect incident to Colonial Missions—This is accounted for, and Means to effect the Remedy are suggested—First Attempt to establish a Spanish Mission—Discouragements—Decease of the Missionary, and temporary Suspension of the Mission—Revival of the English Department—Partial Revival of the Spanish—Imposture—Encouragement to Faith in God.

Our society in Gibraltar was passing through a protracted state of infancy, from which, indeed, it has not quite emerged. Its situation and the nature of its constituent parts were such, that it could scarcely be otherwise. The first Methodists were soldiers, or, if resident in the place, were generally of the humbler class, not permanently settled, or, being employed in some department under Government, were more attached to the army, in which most of them had originally served, than to the inhabitants. From these, and from those of Spain, they were separated by the broad barrier of language. Zealous within their own circle, their efforts were spent on the promotion of their own spiritual prosperity, and the extension of the good work among their countrymen. Numerous conversions from sin to God were the reward of their hallowed labour; and then, the few who had toiled in this way were shipped off to other scenes of service, returned to England, together with their rising families, or passed into eternity. Others followed and withdrew in the same track, who in their turn were succeeded by new companies. The congregation changed and ever changes, presenting, like the garrison, a correspondent succession of facings and appointments, while hopes of great enlargement alternately rise and droop. In this manner a stream of Me-

thodism flowed through Gibraltar, but, during a long period, had done little more. It did not pervade the town, because our people were scarcely, in any case, a part of the population; and when one or the other did establish himself in a more permanent vocation, his association with Christians gradually failed, and *scarcely one such* is now to be seen in the congregation.

The Missionaries, appointed but for three years, health allowing them to complete even that brief term, were ignorant of the current language of the inhabitants, or if able to decipher a Spanish book, were yet ignorant of it as a vehicle of thought to others. Each week elapsed was so much more time counted off the tale, and by so much weaker was any motive to application that at the first might have existed. No opening for labour appeared among the natives, because none was sought. And then, again, because none appeared, it was presumed that none existed; and, under this presumption of impracticability, no attempt was made. To have devoted a few hours daily to the acquisition of the language, would have appeared to the English flock nothing better than literary idleness in their shepherd; and if at any time he made an effort to benefit "the foreigners," as he had none to assist, so neither had he any to sympathize. They over whom he presided did not direct their efforts nor their prayers to the conversion of "the foreigners," as their own fellow-subjects and townsmen were erroneously called; and even if animated by a superior spirit, he could scarcely hazard the alienation of their confidence or affection, by employing any considerable part of his time in behalf of *strangers*, of whom it was even surmised by the few who had been longest in their neighbourhood, that they could scarcely be converted.

Being a Missionary, therefore, only in name, as

regarded the native population, yet separated from the invigorating society of a flourishing and ever-increasing people; enjoying no interchange of sentiment with his brethren in the ministry, nor any relief by change of labours; and at the same time knowing of no good to be attained by lengthened residence on such a station; each in turn availed himself of his privilege to go home at the expiration of the third year, and was succeeded by another, who should discharge the usual duties during an equal period. In such a situation, his energies would often flag, and, but for the sustaining grace of God, he would become weary of his position; and, indeed, it might not be amiss that he should be, if incapable of sowing the seed of life among the perishing millions around him.

It is not intended by these statements to convey any censure, however indirect, on the worthy men who have laboured in Gibraltar exclusively for the benefit of the English, in spite of the discouragements above mentioned. On the contrary, their ministry will doubtless be honoured in the great day of accounts; and the writer has often heard of their laboriousness and piety with a feeling of self-humiliation. But as the same causes which so long operated to the exclusion of the thousands of our neighbours from the benefits which they ought to have derived from us, may be in baneful operation elsewhere, it will not be uninteresting to Missionary readers to spend a few moments on the subject.

Say in Gibraltar, or in some other British possession or colony, or city on the continent of Europe, where many English are settled, an Evangelist is found earnestly at work, and surrounded by numerous classes, and a tolerably large congregation, with communicants of kindred Christian denominations. He is the centre of much religious activity, and is made eminently useful to many; but beyond the ring within

which he and they are moving, all is dreary and death-like. It seems as if he were forbidden to break through. *How is this?*

A ready answer can be given. It may be said, as it is perhaps suspected, "He is deficient in zeal, or in ability, and in either case is unsuited to the station. He should be superseded by a more suitable person, by one who will pledge himself to cast off restraint, and to give himself no rest, until the work of God be revived on the right hand and on the left." But this answer hardly explains the real state of the case, or suggests the remedy. Let us review the question.

The duty of a Christian community existing in the neighbourhood of a debased population, to which it is not united by any social tie, but of which the national origin, the domestic habits and relations, the externals of religion, and even the language, are all so different as to allow but few points of contact, is not to be estimated according to the views we have acquired at home, where such differences do not exist, or but one of them at least, in any locality. If two such communities were for the first time brought into juxta-position, we should naturally suppose that a few years must elapse before a free intercourse of any, but especially of a religious, kind could be established between them. Circumstances would accelerate or retard the desired correspondence; and the persecution often suffered by the early Methodists in Gibraltar, together with their unsettled situation, were among the retarding causes which prolonged the period of their inaction as regarded the natives.

It may be again suggested to young Ministers proceeding to colonial stations of the class now mentioned, where the claims of the English portion of society on their care may be strongly imperative and urgent, and the interest with which they prosecute the duties of their ministry to ready-formed but often imperfectly-

established congregations may for a time absorb all their energies, that unless they can carry their efforts beyond the ground already broken up, they will leave their people and their people's children exposed to all the evils to which strangers in a foreign country are exposed; that they will unconsciously, or at least unintentionally, aid in training up entire generations in a temper of habitual indifference to the spiritual condition of their neighbourhood; that they will leave behind them persons who will be foremost to raise the cry of discouragement, perhaps of opposition, against their successors, when the season for more extended effort shall have arrived. They should regard themselves as having received at their ordination an apostolic mission to the *entire* city or province to which they are sent, not merely as Chaplains to a few Englishmen, but as MISSIONARIES throughout *all the country*, over which their eye can glance or their foot can tread. To this they will be led by the instructions put into their hands in England, by the constitution, generally, of the societies by whom they are sent out, and chiefly by the New Testament itself. Here they will find themselves commissioned with an explicit destination to preach and teach the Gospel to all who have not yet received it, being, like St. Paul, the Prince of Missionaries, debtors to ALL. Each successive Missionary from England goes forth to advance on him who went before; not merely to take charge of a congregation or society, raised by his predecessors, but to effect, under God, what was impracticable to them, as, at the same time and in similar circumstances, it might have been to him. And until he can address a congregation in the language of the country, or is studying hard to that end, he should decline to accept the honourable title of Missionary.

But it must not be denied, that a defect in habit has

contributed in no small degree to the inaction of some—shall we say Missionaries?—as regards foreigners, while they toiled with holy and unwearied assiduity in behalf of a scanty English congregation. The communion to which the writer has the happiness to belong, had long acknowledged and lamented the evils resulting from the imperfect education of its Ministers; but the time has arrived in which, through the good providence of God, some provision is made for the better intellectual and professional training of those whom the divine Head of the church has thrust forth by the impulse of his Spirit to labour in the field of the world. To those, however, who have not been so trained, the study of languages is generally irksome, seldom prosecuted, and might even be injurious. If undertaken late, it is oppressive; and the mind that was wont to rise aloft in exercises of prayer and exhortation, sinks under the strange burden, and loses at once its power and its peace. When such men had been sent abroad, not deficient in piety, nor yet in general ability, but in acquirement, perhaps they did well in not aiming at more than they could accomplish; but in the present advanced state of Missionary prospects, it is to be expected that full attention will be given to the claims of a native population.

A great hinderance to our progress in those parts of the world where Popery prevails, has been a notion totally inconsistent with fact, and at variance with the constitution of the popular mind. This notion is, that religious prejudices must not be aroused.

These are not so strong in Spain as is generally supposed by those who deem them unconquerable. Yet when persons who happen to have been in the country say that they are, some credit is given to their report. But even if prejudice were as deeply-rooted and as powerful as it is reputed to be, what method can Christians take to

weaken its power? If we yield it silent abeyance, we make the perpetual concession, that it has some reason or authority on its side which we do not venture to impugn. The Romanist supposes that we bow, in tacit submission and involuntary reverence, before the authority of his Church; and, therefore, the prejudice we speak of is left to strengthen by holding unquestioned possession of his mind. Nay, the most effectual way to vanquish it, is to look the lion in the face. You daunt him, not by a trial of strength, but by an exhibition of confidence. In these countries we are not superior to Papists in numerical force, or legal sanction; but we are incalculably superior in the holy confidence, that "God is with us." It is confessed, that, in controversy, we might show ourselves peevish; or should we descend from the high ground of scriptural argumentation, we should probably be foiled by their almost instinctive sophistry. But we are ever superior to the Romish priesthood, if we persevere in prayer and in teaching. The Spirit of Christ is mighty to pull down the strongholds of sin; and if this Spirit impart constancy, we shall not have to wait many years before it will be seen whether of the two, constancy or prejudice, can hold out the longer. But, in Gibraltar, the danger of awakening the prejudices of our perishing townsmen was long insisted on by well-meaning people as a reason why they should stand aloof even from their Ministers, if they gave utterance in either language to sentiments repugnant to current opinion.

A false charity, nurtured in grossest ignorance, has sometimes served to lull the conscience of Protestants in helping to procure the rite of extreme unction for their dying neighbours. They would not disquiet their last moments by any allusion to their state as sinners. Others, again, themselves or their children intermarried with Papists, have systematically avoided

exposing their relatives to the honest animadversion of their Pastor; and, to the present moment, this delusion tends to retard the work of God.

It were well to bear in mind, that Christian courtesy and faithfulness can be combined without injury to either virtue; and in this conviction the following proposition is offered to the reader, as that which constitutes a rule of conduct to him who pens it:—*That there is no insuperable difficulty to be dreaded by the Protestant Missionary in Spain, provided he be called of God, and live above popular misapprehension on the subject of his mission.*

We have now to notice some first attempts in order to the establishment of a Spanish department, in union with the English, on the Gibraltar Missionary station.

It does not appear that any request had proceeded thence for the appointment of a Missionary for the native population; but that the design originated in England, probably with the Rev. Richard Watson, who entertained a strong desire that the Society should extend its agencies to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Towards the close of the year 1824, Mr. William Barber, then a probationer for the ministry, was sent out with instructions to learn Spanish, and to try what could be effected. On his arrival, he described the state of things in the following terms, in a letter since published:—"The great majority of the civil population here are Spaniards;* (Roman Catholics of course;) and as they hold but little or no intercourse with the English, except when needed by business, and even then talking in a foreign language, Methodism has not existed for them." He stated, however, that a member of the English society had been for a very short time previously engaged as a

* Meaning, they speak the Spanish language. They are not Spaniards.

Local Preacher to some ten or twelve hearers; but the prospect was not encouraging. This first Spanish Preacher lost any little religion he might have had, and eventually withdrew from our company in disgrace. Mr. Barber himself soon became utterly discouraged. The little congregation dwindled away. A small class which had met for a few weeks was dispersed; and in devising plans for the commencement of labour by himself, he thought the assemblage of a congregation at that time hopeless, and the very idea chimerical. It then appeared, that little or nothing more could be done than to hold conversational meetings, in order to excite attention, and impart information. And Mr. Barber was not alone in the suggestion of this measure; for in a well-known work,* published about the time of his appointment, but which he could scarcely have seen, the judicious author, suggesting Gibraltar as a new station, for the sake, chiefly, of correspondence, observes that "occasions of profitable intercourse with professing Christians might be enjoyed, and that in addition to communion of that nature with the English, by a Missionary who should have acquired sufficient fluency to conduct, once or twice a week, a kind of public family prayer, in Spanish, when the Scriptures might be read and explained, together with supplication for the benefit of those persons, either resident in Gibraltar, or visiting the place, who might otherwise not enjoy such means of religious edification."

But our first Missionary, laboriously studying the language, suffering much from a diseased constitution, and struggling with many local difficulties, persevered to the extent of strength and opportunity; and, although he did not organize the Mission, he collected some materials, over which he prayed and toiled; and

* Jowett's "Researches in the Mediterranean," p. 360.

in the year 1827 the author found him encircled by Spanish acquaintances, and striving, not only in conversation, but in sermons, to bring them to the knowledge of the truth. It was his misfortune, indeed, to be dealing with persons who could not appreciate his motives, nor understand his object; but he persevered in hoping against hope, believing against sight, and commending his work to God who sent him. There is no reason to believe that his efforts were followed by the real conversion of a single soul, or that their immediate and visible result was any thing more than fraudulent profession of religious feeling by a few persons from the dregs of the Gibraltar poor, and the Spanish refugees of that period; but they are remembered as honourable evidences of his patient and faithful perseverance, and were really useful as providing himself, and others after him, with necessary experience. Had not Mr. Barber led the way, it is probable that no other Missionary would have entered on it for many years, perhaps not to the present moment, and that whatever may be deemed encouraging as to our labours with Spaniards, would not have been related in the following chapters.

The close of his career was peculiarly mournful. In consequence of the removal of his Superintendent, he was left alone in charge of the English congregation and classes, in addition to his accustomed work. He had scarcely begun to enter on his additional engagements, when the garrison and town were thrown into alarm by the appearance of an epidemic fever, similar to that already described. This began towards the end of August, 1828; and on the 26th of October he fell among the victims, after having discharged, for a few days, the duties of garrison Chaplain, he being the only surviving Minister on whom such duties could be devolved. Although extremely diffident, he had begun to acquire fluency in the use of the language; and, in

spite of much discouragement, had persevered in those studies and labours by which the proposed object might be attained. He had made a journey of observation in Spain, proceeding as far as Granada, forming friendships and entering into correspondence with Spaniards; and thus he conciliated, by unaffected piety and an amiable disposition, the esteem of all who knew him; and the prospect just began to brighten, when it was suddenly overcast. Almost all the leading persons on the station were cut off by death, or dispersed, and many of the foreigners who survived left the garrison. The station was re-occupied in March or April, 1829; but the case of the foreign population remained almost unprovided for, there being no native agent capable of undertaking the work with usefulness and credit.

Here, again, was a lesson, teaching us that "our sufficiency is of God," and that even when he deigns not to afford large success to his servants, he can bless and honour them by appointing them to be examples of patient endurance to their successors. It was thus that Abraham became the father of believers. He had faith in promises unfulfilled as yet, and in that faith accounted himself lord of the unpossessed inheritance. In like manner did the first witnesses of the truth in Gibraltar toil in obscurity and scorn, with little apparent success in winning souls, except now and then a few were gathered into their society, soon to be transferred to other countries. But the day is now visibly approaching in which the light of the Gospel shall be seen to radiate from this little point of Southern Europe, over the Peninsula, at the extremity of which it lies. Then shall Spain be Christianized. An uninterrupted series of events has long been subservient to this glorious design, a design not framed by men, but suggested by God himself, sanctioned and urged by his word, and gradually developed by his providence.

But for the conviction that it is so, our faith would long ago have failed: we can, however, now venture to assume a style of confidence warranted by the knowledge that we have not been deceived. We could wish to communicate a similar confidence to other minds, and to engage their sympathy, co-operation, and prayers in behalf of Spain. With this view they are invited to peruse the following sketch of events in that country, events which at the same time indicated and hastened the downfal of Popery as a domineering sect, and inviting, nay, summoning, us to employ our energies for the introduction of pure Christianity, as a new and necessary element in the social mass, without which no constitution of civil liberty can be right or permanent, no great elevation of national character can be attained, no satisfactory intercourse can be carried on with other nations, nor can there be to individuals any well-sustained hope of everlasting happiness.

CHAPTER III.

Protestant Influence in Gibraltar—Incipient Reforms in Spain—French Invasion—Social Condition of the Spaniards—Councils of Castile and the Inquisition abolished by Buonaparte—Cortes of Cadiz—Article of the Constitution as to Religion—Inquisition legally abolished—Tribunals protective of the Faith established—Resistance made by the Priesthood—Banishment of the Nuncio.

ALTHOUGH so little regard was paid to the honour of God during a long period of time, it must be acknowledged that the first British occupants of Gibraltar, when they thought or acted with reference to religion, were decidedly Protestant. And however we must disapprove of some of their proceedings, and may differ in opinion as to others, it cannot be doubted that they abhorred Popery. According to the terms of the capitulation by which the place was surrendered to the English, the inhabitants were to be allowed the uninterrupted exercise of their religion, and the administration of their former laws. The principal church was occupied, however, but by one parish Priest, Don Juan Romero de Figueroa; but one woman and a few men chose to remain in the place. Monks, Nuns, Priests, and people simultaneously moved out. Don Juan took up his abode in the church during the siege which followed, and gratefully acknowledged that the English supplied him with rations daily, even in times of the greatest scarcity, and that no one presumed to trespass there; but the lesser chapels were left to the discretion of soldiers and sailors, who paid little respect to their ornaments. The Spanish historian, Ayala, states that "where they committed the greatest excesses was in the chapel of the Virgin at the South. They treated

her image with contempt, and cut off the head of the infant which she held in her arms. The image, however, was recovered, and placed over the altar of the relic-chamber (*sagrario*) of the principal church, without any part of it being lost; for a pious woman," probably the heroine who remained while all others of her sex fled, "picked up the head which the irreligious conquerors had cut off."

If any thing were portended by the fall of this important head, it was the downfal of idolatry, as when the head of Dagon was cut off on the threshold of his temple. But it is incontestable that the British authorities have from the very first shown entire deference to the religion or superstition of the inhabitants; and that the treaty of 1713, between Queen Anne and Philip V., by which Her Majesty was bound to tolerate the free exercise of the Catholic religion, so called, has been fully observed. Indeed, it has been more than tolerated. It is true that a disability, in regard to tenure of landed property was once imposed on all persons who were not born Protestant British subjects; but that was done for political reasons, and the Papists and Jews were relieved therefrom in the year 1819. This disability, however objectionable it might have been, together with the strong and just prejudice of Englishmen in those days against Popery, operated as a testimony for Protestantism during a century of spiritual darkness, and not, perhaps, without good effect.

In Spain itself political amelioration began to open a way for ecclesiastical reform. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1769 was one of those events which gave high importance to the reign of Charles III.; and the benefits consequent on that wise measure were soon apparent. This Monarch encouraged a set of profoundly learned men, who in erudite and dignified writings defended the rights of the Sovereign and the nation in opposition to Papal usurpations; proposed and partially effected reforms in the seats of learning; disco-

vered the evil, and even illegality of the exorbitant accumulation of inalienable property by religious bodies; proposed agricultural and industrial improvements; suggested and exemplified more liberal studies;* and communicated an impulse to the public mind which subsequent events might check, but could not subdue. The Officers of the Inquisition raged against those worthy men, and persecuted them as far as they could invent pretexts; but then the Inquisitors were no longer absolute in the exercise of their jurisdiction, the power of the King generally sufficed to shield his immediate advisers from their fury, and a combination of causes compelled them to recede a step before the overpowering impulse of a disturbed, yet reviving, generation.

Although the country was fenced in by the jealousy of its priesthood and (after all exceptions) priest-ridden rulers, from intercourse with the Reformed Churches, it could not be entirely closed against the influences which emanated from them. The Popish priesthood had been always accused of denying to the people the right of examining the holy Scriptures; and the accusation was substantiated by evidence of a rule of the Index Expurgatorius which forbade the reading of the Bible in Spanish, except by virtue of a written licence from the Bishop or Inquisitor, to be applied for by the parish Priest or Confessor of the person who desired the indulgence. This licence was rarely solicited, and more rarely granted; and it was deemed heretical, and therefore wicked, even to desire to transgress the rule. But as the charge was pressed constantly and publicly

* At this time scholastic theology had fallen so far into disrepute, that the Spanish apologist Castro complained (about 1790) that if a man wished to make himself appear ridiculous, he had but to profess himself addicted to Scholasticism, which had arrayed against it all the "modern Methodists" who preferred the amenity of erudition to wisdom itself.

by the Protestants, and their versions were circulated and read, the Papists had no remedy but to publish vernacular translations, accommodated to their own school. Pope Benedict XIV. had therefore changed the rule of the Roman Index, dispensing with the licence, under the condition that the versions to be read should be made by persons of the Romish Church, and accompanied by the notes of Romish Doctors. The Italian clerics, who thought his policy dangerously liberal, raised an outcry against him; and some of his rebellious children went so far as to say that he ought to be denounced to the Inquisition. Notwithstanding, the ancient rigour was in some degree relaxed, and in the year 1780 the same Charles III. of Spain signified to Father Philip Scio de S. Miguel, preceptor of the Prince of Asturias, afterwards Ferdinand VII., his command to translate the Bible into Spanish. The way was prepared for publication by an alteration of the rule of the Spanish Index similar to that of the Roman; but this threw the mass of the priesthood into a ferment; and it would seem that none of them could be induced to countenance the work; for the only note of clerical approbation which appears to be extant, proceeded from the pen of a foreigner, a Portuguese Bishop, a friend of the translator in Lisbon. The translator could ill conceal his misgivings as to the consequences of his work; for in an advertisement thereto prefixed, and published under the authority of his protector in the business, Charles IV., he professed his willingness to acquiesce in a revocation of the newly-conceded privilege, should the Church and lawful authorities think such revocation expedient.

To prepare the way for this version, a valuable folio volume was published in Valencia in 1791 by the Doctor D. Joaquin Lorenzo Villanueva, "on the Reading of the Sacred Scripture in vulgar Tongues." Villanueva was one of those who, although they thought themselves

bound to assume a style of opposition to "schismatics," did immense benefit to the cause of religious truth by their learned and, in other respects, liberal publications. The state of public opinion in Spain is incidentally disclosed in this book. It is acknowledged that "here and there one might be found infected with the old contagion of Lutheranism;" while, as regarded Spain in general, it was said, speaking in the manner of those days, "Our provinces, by the especial favour and grace of Heaven, are cleansed from the evil seed which Luther sowed;" and it was said that the people then looked on heretical versions with horror and detestation. The acceptance which the prodigy of a liberal decree had found with the people, (for "it had filled the whole nation with general gladness,") was insisted on as tending to demonstrate that it was opportune; but the dire hatred of the Priests towards all who should contribute to its observance suggested to the learned apologist, that his work, notwithstanding the patronage of King, Court, and Inquisitor-General, and the popular feeling in its favour, was "*full of difficulty, and* NOT FREE FROM DANGER."

Having noticed the fact, let us now pause to admire the good providence of God. Persons the most unlikely to subserve the interest of the Gospel are drawn out into its service. Charles III. of Spain, his imbecile successor Charles IV., the chief officers of Government and of the Inquisition, are seen to combine their influence against the mass of the priesthood, in order to set forth a version of the holy Scriptures! The outcry excited by this proceeding arouses to its defence the talent of one of their ablest men, himself a Priest, who maintains that the Bible should be read, studied, and its difficulties mastered; that the people, not excepting women and children, should be freely admitted, nay, invited, to this holy exercise. A version is at length prepared, as faithful as the version of a corrupted

original * could be, it is much read in the higher classes of society, comes forth again in a second edition, and becomes a standard work in Spain. It is subsequently reprinted in Barcelona, Madrid, London, and New-York, and circulated in a cheap and portable volume, instead of ten folios, or twenty-two octavos, by the agents of Bible Societies in both hemispheres. While the apathy of Protestants, or the insufficiency of their resources to meet the wants of the world, leaves Popery in possession of the European Peninsula, the zeal of Romanists in prosecuting a public benefit extorted from their own Church, prepared the way for Missionaries and other evangelical labourers at the distance of half a century of time.

Foreigners in Spain had been exposed to the power of the Inquisition, and Englishmen, as well as others, had been burnt alive; but shortly after the publication of the Scriptures a concession in their favour was perhaps the first step of legislative advance towards Christian liberty. A declaration was made, which gained the force of law,† that if any foreigner, not a Jew, should take up his abode in Spain, exercising any art, trade, or industrious calling, no difficulty should be put in his way; and that if he were not a "Catholic," notice should be given to the Inquisition, *in order that he might not be prosecuted on account of religion*, so long as he should respect the customs of the public.

It is remarkable that the first effective Missionary stationed in Gibraltar could scarcely have been settled in his work, and was just beginning to be surrounded by a regular congregation, when (on the 8th of November, 1808) Napoleon Buonaparte crossed the Bidasoa, and (on the 4th of December) from Chamartin, a village near Madrid, published his first decrees in Spain, which were to abolish the Inquisition, to reduce the number

* The Vulgate, which is artfully Romanized throughout.

† *Novísima Recopilacion*, lib. viii., tit. 23, l. 7, n. 4.

of monasteries to one third, and to change the existing form of government, by suppressing the Supreme Council of Castile.

The revolutionary principles promulgated at first in France, passed over the Pyrenees eventually; but the characters of the two countries are excessively dissimilar. It was rather the invasion of the French army, than the communication of French political opinions, which overthrew the ancient despotism; and, leaving the questions which are suggested by referring to the secular history of that time, it is sufficient for our purpose to mark how the highway by which the Gospel should enter into Spain was gradually laid open, and to notice the first inroads, by whomsoever made, on the fanaticism of the people.

Hitherto the Spaniards had but heard of the convulsions of the neighbouring country, and the dull security of the mass of Clergy resembled that of their brethren elsewhere half a century before; and the general state of things may be exactly described in the very words of an old English writer, with reference to Europe in general before the Reformation. It "was universally overrun with idolatry, superstition, ignorance, and profaneness. The greater part of the Priests said not, 'Where is the Lord?' And they who should have taught the law of the Lord, knew him not. The Pastors also transgressed against him, and the Prophets prophesied by Baal. There was like people, like Priests, sottish, brutish and debauched." The Reformed religion in France had been opposed by brute violence and open warfare; but in Spain, by the secret operations of a clerical police, under cover of darkness, and in chambers of torture, and but a minute proportion of the causes despatched by the horrid tribunal of the Inquisition transpired to the public. Nay, even the word *public*, although used in the preceding pages, could scarcely be employed with propriety. The *res publica* did not exist

there. Each province had a set of laws and usages peculiar to itself. Populous cities, with their fertile environs, were separated from each other by large tracts of uncultivated ground, which, indeed, the ploughshare has not yet broken, nor the conduits watered, and held but scanty correspondence. A very few roads, diverging from the capital, stretched over the country, leaving second-rate towns and villages on either side with little communication. To travel in such a country was often as perilous as to cross the desert of Zahara; and the petty chief of each insulated village was, or might be, a tyrant. The presses, not to say the press, (for there was little but degradation common,) were in no way free. The population of the land was cut up into distinct and separated sections, each feeble, because single and unassociated. If indignation, compassion, or inquiry were excited in one town, it could scarcely be communicated to another, because there was no medium of general communication, nor any way of ascertaining a common interest or sympathy. But there was one *gubernative* power, not exercised over an entire nation, which would have been impossible, but it was an unmingled despotism which brooded over a multitude of distinct provinces, towns, and feudal estates. The business of despotic rule was transacted in "the Royal and Supreme Council of Castile," which had been established in Madrid about the middle of the thirteenth century, and was co-eval in that form with another power, the ecclesiastical, alone characterized by perfect unity and complete centrality. Of this the high seat was at Rome; but the vicegerency was exercised in "the Supreme Council of the holy Inquisition," aided by the subordinate tribunals of Seville, Toledo, Granada, Córdova, Cuenca, Valladolid, Murcia, Llerma, Logroño, Santiago, Zaragoza, Valencia, Barcelona, and Mallorca, exclusive of others in the colonies. Correspondence with the Supreme Council was conducted with the utmost regularity, and no fewer than twenty thou-

sand familiars, or disguised agents, whose office was to report and procure the seizure of heretics, were dispersed throughout the capital and provinces.* These served gratuitously: the greater part of them were villains who had solicited the office for self-preservation; and in proportion to their zeal in heresy-hunting they were favoured by the Inquisitors, to whom only their employment was known.† Neither of these two "Councils" has maintained existence since, notwithstanding every effort that could be made for their re-establishment.

It was well that Buonaparte abolished them; for it cannot be denied, that at that time the most enlightened and boldest Spaniards would not have ventured on such sweeping measures, which might have been fatal to themselves; but there were few who did not rejoice at the abolition of the "Holy Office;" and some who would otherwise have united in the noble effort of the Spanish people to drive out the usurper, augured so much good from the downfal of the Inquisition, as to be reconciled to his brief reign over them, notwithstanding the atrocities by which it was established.

The existence of this feeling was made evident by the proceedings of the "General and Extraordinary Cortes," which were assembled on September 24th, 1810, in the Isla de Leon, were transferred to Cadiz a few months afterwards, and continued their sessions there until September 14th, 1813, when they were succeeded by the "Ordinary Cortes," equally constitutional, on the 1st of October. These Cortes were subsequently translated to Madrid, and there perfidiously dissolved by Ferdinand VII., on the 10th of May, 1814, and the deputies arrested in the dead of the night, and, without any previous form of justice, dragged from their beds to dungeons.

* Casadevante, en el Gran Diccionario de Moreri. *Consejo supremo de la santa Inquisicion.*

† Llorente.

The acts of these Cortes with regard to religious affairs, are too important to be passed over with a merely incidental notice. They deserve to be detailed. The first is embodied in an article of the Constitutional Code, by which Popery was re-established as the religion of the State; the second, in a decree for the suppression of the Inquisition.

The Church had been despoiled of much property, and the priesthood in general was in avowed hostility to the innovators of that period; and as Henry VIII. of England, in a similar case, found it expedient to profess such an attachment to the Romish dogma as might screen him from the reproach of heresy, while undermining the whole system by changing its discipline in the essential part, and was thus, under the overruling providence of God, bringing about a glorious reformation; so did the Spanish Cortes think it expedient to enact the following article of their Constitution as a fundamental law; and they seem to have done Spain a service by the very extravagance of its language. It is as follows:—"The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, apostolic, Roman, only true. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other."*

The President laid the first clause before the Congress, observing that, except any verbal alteration should be suggested, *no discussion would be necessary!* The Deputy Inguanza, in a short speech, displayed his zeal for the Church, proposing that no one who professed any other religion should be regarded as a Spaniard, nor enjoy the rights of such. This proposal of outlawry fell to the ground; but Muñoz Torrero and

* *La relijion de la nacion Española es, y será perpetuamente, la católica, apostólica, Romana, única verdadera. La nacion la proteje por leyes sabias y justas, y prohibe el ejercicio de cualquiera otra.*

Villanueva, probably to soothe the party, proposed the second clause of prohibition of other religions, and protection of the Romish. Here was provided an implicit sanction of reform, for the laws then in force were neither wise nor just; but they had not courage to undertake such a reform, and exposed themselves to the ridicule of those who admired that they should decree perpetuity to the system they were beginning to demolish. Yet it is certain that they did not expect that the code, of which this article is part, would be perpetual; for some of them avowed their conviction that it would be superseded by another more perfect; and it was accordingly decreed, that after eight years it should be lawful to revise it. The language of the Count de Toreno, one of the framers, and apologist of the Constitution, is in accordance with this view. "In time," says the Count, "and when, through the medium of the press, and the establishment of freedom, the public opinion had been better formed in this respect, by all being made to understand how just and necessary it is to respect all religions; and, on the other hand, the number of foreigners had increased; then the Spanish Catholic would not be alarmed at seeing the Protestant temple erected at the side of his church, as his ancestors saw the mosque and the synagogue, previously to the introduction of the Inquisition. But to establish toleration suddenly, after the empire of that tribunal had lasted three centuries, would have been folly, and would have furnished the Clergy with a pretext to raise an outcry against reform in a more efficacious manner. What, then, would they not have called the liberal party, whom, notwithstanding all this circumspection, they have since treated as Atheists and Jacobins?" The same style prevailed universally, of which an example is the formula of the oath which was then prescribed to be taken by the King on his coming to the throne. It runs thus: "I, N—, by the

grace of God and the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, Kings of the Spains, swear by God, and by the holy Gospels, that I will defend and preserve the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, *without permitting any other in the kingdom*," &c. He should swear further, that he would preserve the *political*, tacitly denying the religious, liberty of his subjects. And, in like manner, one of the other articles, on public instruction, set forth that "all Spaniards had liberty to write, print, and publish their *political* ideas, without necessity of previous licence, revision, or censure." Here, again, is the same reservation.

The fact is, that those legislators were intent on delivering their country from the political bondage in which they were held by Popery; but they saw no further. They could not perceive the spiritual thraldom and eternal ruin attendant and consequent thereon. Protestant Christendom had made no effort to teach them better things; and therefore their blindness should rather excite our sorrow than our censure.

The second, and by far more important, of these acts, was the suppression of the Inquisition. On no subject whatever was so much deliberation bestowed. The report of the intensely interesting discussion, which lasted from December 8th, 1812, to February 5th, 1813, and which exhibits a full developement of the principles then operative, was published in a distinct form, and fills a Spanish quarto volume of nearly seven hundred closely-printed pages in small type. From this source the following notices are chiefly derived.

A Committee had been appointed to examine "whether the establishment of the Inquisition was or was not agreeable to the political constitution of the monarchy, sanctioned by the Cortes, and sworn to by all the free provinces." The subject was felt to be difficult. Two of the members of the Committee, Ric and Perez,

thought the time had not arrived to entertain the question. Huerto and Cañedo declined giving their vote. But the majority were agreed, and presented an elaborate dictamen, or report. They had searched all the papers, records, bulls, briefs, and even printed books, in which they could hope to find any thing bearing on the question. There was no doubt but that it was the will of the nation that the Catholic religion should be preserved in its purity, and that no other form of worship should be tolerated. Indeed, it was deemed impossible to allow the admission of any other; and therefore the Cortes had sanctioned the article above cited. None could deny the utility of religion to the State. The Spaniards, without exception, were *eminently religious;* (!) and it only remained to be determined how their religion should be protected by the civil power. It was distinguished that the Catholic religion could not impose any corporal penalty: ever *compassionate* and *charitable*, (!) it could only employ persuasion; and this failing, exclude the pertinacious from its communion. The civil authority in Spain had never failed to protect the Catholic religion, this being, by a fundamental law, the religion of the monarchy ever since the third Council of Toledo, when the Spanish Kings abjured Arianism. But various means had been employed from time to time to this effect; and these were detailed in the report. As soon as the Roman Emperors, who commanded in Spain, had embraced the Catholic religion, they prohibited the introduction of new sects, and punished heretics. The Theodosian Code is an evidence of this. The Gothic Sovereigns were long alienated from the Catholic faith, being perverted by Arianism; but the first Catholic King of Gothic descent put an end, summarily, to heresy in his dominions. The ancient legislation, however, was very simple. One law of the *Partidas*, for example, classifies heretics as (first) they

who err in some points of belief; or, (secondly,) who deny religion altogether; but gives a clear definition of heresy as being a departure from the Catholic faith of Christians. This law was further cited to show that it should be endeavoured to convert heretics; but that if they would not be converted, they should be *burnt*, not by the Church,* but by the civil power, and the law was extolled as *wise*, JUST, and MERCIFUL. (But this was merely affectation of orthodoxy, in order to compass their object.) The Council of Tarragona had piously acted on it in the fifteenth century, and put an end to their filthy and obscene sacrifices, of depopulating tendency. The learned Commissioners then descanted on the increase of sectaries in the ages preceding the Reformation; but showed that Jews and Moors had been tolerated, protected, and patronized in Spain, and that many of the noblest families had descended from converts from those religions; but that, in the fifteenth century,

* Among the numerous offices of the Latin Church, I cannot find an *Ordo ad comburendum Hæreticum vel Schismaticum*. It is to be regretted that that Church should not have provided an office for the celebration of one of her most important ceremonies; but this is accounted for by the very simple consideration that she does not recognise a lay ministry, although she has made a larger use of it than any other Church under the sun. The acts of this lay ministry, however, are not ecclesiastical; and therefore the Church is not responsible for them. This thought of lay ministration reminds me of the first house I had the honour of occupying on a foreign station. (Malta.) The lay Ministers of the parish had been assembled under the direction of some who were *in sacris*, (never *in profanis*, the which are not canonical,) and had performed exorcism on the premises, (done by licence, of course, as I remember to have read in some Constitution or Canon Ecclesiastical, that this operation is not to be performed without *licence*,) on the person of my worthy predecessor. The house was windowless and sorely battered; but it was not the Church who did that. She is too *wise*; as to "just and merciful," one can say but little.

Judaism became so popular, and relapses to Judaism by hypocritical converts therefrom so frequent, that Christianity was in danger. Then Ferdinand and Elizabeth introduced the Inquisition, hoping to make it a political engine; but the Pope was too keen to be outwitted by Ferdinand, and His Holiness set himself over it as chief, in concert with the King. At first the Inquisitors were horribly severe, and the Spaniards rebelled against them. Ancient Cortes also appealed against the Inquisition, but with little success. But they appealed with reason; for never having been sanctioned by any Cortes, its establishment was illegal. Similar appeals had been incessant. The system of the Inquisition was incompatible with that of the Constitution, as well as with the sovereignty and independence of the nation, and was inimical to the liberty of individuals. It was therefore necessary to re-establish in its stead the old law of the Partidas, for which the King of Sicily had given a precedent in the year 1782. In short, it was the opinion of the Committee that all causes of faith should be decided by the Bishops, and that the civil authorities should be empowered to imprison or slay heretics, as in their wisdom they should see to be just, and that in doing so, they should support the Bishops *in their independence from the Pope.*

Now, although no greater calamity could befall a nation than the establishment of one Church or sect, invested with legal power to persecute Nonconformists, unless God, in his mercy, should humble such a Church, by causing better influences to prevail on the side of Christian liberty, it cannot but interest the careful observer to discover, so long ago as the year 1812, the open avowal in Spain of the principle of salutary schism, threatening the Court of Rome without reserve.

It is not necessary to trouble the reader with an

abstract of the speeches delivered on both sides of the question; but only to note that the friends of the Holy Office pleaded, with great heat and equal perseverance, that the Congress had no right to interfere, or at least none to legislate on matters of religion; that the nation was bound to protect the Church, not to rule it, nor to interfere with the prerogatives of the Pope and his delegates. "It being undeniable," said the Señor Cañedo, "that the head of the Church has this authority to provide for the purity of the faith, and the chastisement of heretics, it is equally certain that this authority extends to all parts of the world wherever the Catholic religion has reached. Wheresoever there are found men who profess the religion of Jesus Christ, there may the head of the Church exercise this authority over them; nor can any human power prevent him from doing so." And among many sayings of the same sort: "Where the Catholic religion is not the religion of the State, the head of the Church will exercise this authority as well as he shall be able, counting only on the assistance of such individuals as recognise him as Vicar of Christ." But let us ask what kind of assistance such individuals can render. Clearly, by substituting assassinations for *autos de fé*, as in Ireland, by acting as familiars in the mixed congregations of Protestants and Papists.

The party endeavoured to excite manifestations in their favour in the provinces, procured memorials to be sent up, solicited an adjournment of the discussion to a Council of Bishops; and endeavoured to intimidate, by affecting to fear that the suppression of the Holy Office would give rise to popular tumults and civil war; and that the religion of the State would be placed in the utmost peril by the proposed suppression. Nor could they conceal their apprehension, that it was already giving way before such attacks. "This ancient establishment of the Church of Spain," said

the same orator, who, had he been in any part of the British empire, would have pretended that the Inquisition is no part of his Church, "was adapted to the critical circumstances in which religion was found among us in the fifteenth century; and O that other calamities did not now threaten us as great or even greater than those which religion then experienced!" And well might he fear, when Bel bowed down, and Nebo stooped.

The liberal deputies were placed in a perilous position, as no effort was spared to overawe them by the vociferations of the populace, and every other means that could be contrived. Therefore they assumed a style of most rigid orthodoxy, great respect to the person of the Pope, and care for the preservation of religion, and of the prerogatives of the Bishops. But they contended that the Inquisition, which originated merely in the request of Ferdinand the Catholic, had been found to be odious to the people and to the Cortes; dishonourable to the country, on which it had drawn the merited reproach and contempt of foreigners; and that experience had shown it to be incompatible with liberty, and with the Constitution recently established, which the objectors themselves had sworn to maintain. They displayed great industry in research, and employed much good argumentation; adducing important facts of Spanish history, government, and legislation. But, this notwithstanding, most of their premises were erroneous. They were profoundly ignorant of Gospel truths and principles, and wofully encumbered with a dogged and ostentatious adherence to the dogma of Popery, which they chose to say was independent of its discipline; as if the fundamental article of their confession, that the Pope is head of the Church, as Vicar of Christ, were not the first point of discipline, as well as the chief characteristic of their doctrine.

As not only men, but books, had been under the cognizance of the Inquisition, these also came under consideration; and some amelioration was introduced as regarded them. A substitute for the Inquisition was provided, in the shape of "Tribunals protective of the Faith;" and as the substitute, iniquitous as it was, was a degree less so than the old tribunal, the Decree of Cortes for its establishment is translated in the Appendix, (No. I.,) and may be read with interest.

By the first chapter of this Decree, the administration of the old laws was wrested from the Inquisitors, and intrusted to persons who could not act independently of the magistracy of the kingdom, nor cover their deeds in impenetrable secrecy. Although any one might accuse of heresy, public opinion had so far changed, that, except during such temporary reactions of despotism as followed, informations against alleged heretics would be too odious to take place frequently. Meanwhile the public mind would become daily more and more disabused; the influence of the priesthood diminished; and the penalties of burning, confiscation, and infamy were too extreme to be inflicted without endangering the court that should pass sentence, and the officers who should proceed to execution. This was, doubtless, the calculation of the Cortes; and it has been justified by the event.

By the second chapter, freedom was not granted for evangelical writings; nor indeed was it probable that one Spaniard would have been found capable of using it. However, so many appeals were allowable previously to the suppression of a book, and the concurring judgment of so many persons, that nothing could prevent the circulation of opinions tending to produce a better state of things. From that time the literature of Spain exhibits symptoms of further improvement, although lamentably abounding in the vestiges of ancient error, and enfeebled by the inherent timidity

of men who could not walk erect, because they had never moved without fetters, and could not expect an honest interpretation of the few ameliorated laws recently promulged. Even now, as Lawyers of respectability have assured the author, the *meaning of words* is not so much studied, as are the motives extraneous to law and justice, which influence at the moment; so that the writers of that day would probably regard even the clearest legislation on their behalf as a mere dead letter.

If the Clergy had quietly submitted to this Decree, they might have turned it to their own account, and avoided the effects of popular excitement, and the odium incurred by openly abetting a system which was universally abhorred. But the priesthood fixed its own doom by a contrary proceeding.

The Cortes (not very wisely) required the Decree to be read aloud in the churches of Cadiz the next morning, and on the two following Sundays. The mortifying order was ill obeyed; and the Priests, already irritated by the acts of the Constitutional legislature, lost all patience. The Capitular Vicar of Cadiz, *sede vacante*, and three Prebendaries of the cathedral, were banished, not only for contumacy, but for taking part in an extensive combination against the existing order of things. The Bishops of Lérida, Tortosa, Barcelona, Urgel, Teruel, and Pamplona, had taken refuge on the Island of Majorca, on account of the French invasion; and there they formed a sort of council, and issued an inflammatory pastoral, which was largely circulated on the Peninsula. The Bishop of Santander put forth an anonymous pamphlet, written in verse, in a popular style, and printed in Coruña, under the odd title of, "The *without* and the *with* of God towards men; and reciprocally, of men towards God, with their *without* and with their *with*." The Chapters of Seville, Malaga, Córdoba, and Jaen, entered into secret corre-

spondence with that of Cadiz; excepting, however, the few Ecclesiastics of those bodies who were known to have adopted liberal opinions. These were excluded from participation or knowledge of the plot; while Gravina, the Pope's Nuncio at Madrid, was the soul and centre of the whole. His Eminence, confident in the plenitude of apostolical authority, sent an unceremonious remonstrance to the Regency, and letters to some of the Bishops, exhorting them to form common cause with the Clergy of Spain, and with them "to oppose the Manifest and Decrees of the Cortes for the abolition of the Holy Office." The Regency, in reply, expressed their disapprobation, but very gently; at which he took greater licence, and assumed a yet more lofty style. They, in necessary self-defence, banished him from Spain, and took possession of his temporalities. He embarked in the Bay of Cadiz on July 13th, 1813, and took up his residence at Tavira, in Portugal.

Nothing could have been more opportune. The Court of Rome and the Spanish people were then set at variance; they have been so ever since, and probably will never be reconciled: God grant that they never may!

CHAPTER IV.

Abolition of "St. James's Vow"—Reduction of monastic Establishments—Public Instruction—Restoration of Ferdinand—Emigration of Liberals—Secret Societies—Enlightened Writers—Writers on behalf of Popery—Amat's Paraphrase of the Holy Scriptures—Ximenez's Paraphrase of the Epistles—Spanish Version of Cobbett's "Letters on the Reformation."

THE pioneers of liberty prosecuted their labours with admirable constancy. The intolerant Twelfth Article, bad as it was, was really serviceable, because it served them as a covered way by which they approached to undermine the citadel of darkness. Nor could they be fairly charged with duplicity on this account; for they did not see, nor had they been led to see, the essential wickedness of Romanism. They only aimed at the emancipation of their country from the secular domination of the Pope, and endeavoured to secure an independent administration of government and law, and a more liberal organization of the state, without any intention of inducing a purely doctrinal reform. But we have ultimately seen the hand of God using those unenlightened men to *rend the veil* that was on the Spanish nation.

"At that time," says the Conde de Toreno, "the Cortes abolished" the tax commonly called "'St. James's vow.' This name was given to an ancient tribute of a certain measure of the best bread, and the best wine, which the farmers of some provinces paid towards the maintenance of the Archbishop and Chapter of St. James of Compostela, and the hospital of the same city. The lawfulness of this exaction was founded on a pretended privilege which resulted from a diploma falsely attributed to the King, Don Ramiro I. of Leon,

dated in Calahorra, in the year 872 of the era of Cæsar." It was proved that the document was forged at a later period; that the imposition was founded on a vow alleged to have been made by Don Ramiro, on occasion of a miracle which was never wrought; that the tax had been gradually extended from one province to the whole of Spain; and that the payment of it had been often appealed against, and often resisted. All this being proved, the tax was summarily abolished.

After this assertion of national right in respect to the emoluments of the Church, the next step was to diminish its vast possessions.

The property possessed by the various monkish orders amounted to a large proportion (more than half, to say the least) of the houses and lands in Spain, and unavailing efforts to dispossess them of some part of it had been made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the year 1803, the numbers of "religious houses" were estimated at 2,054 of Monks, and 1,075 of Nuns. It was computed that their inmates were 92,727. Napoleon, as already stated, had decreed that these establishments should be reduced to one-third, and his brother Joseph had caused them almost all to disappear in the provinces occupied by the French. On the 17th of June, 1812, the Cortes confirmed those acts of the French, although making an eventually successful war on the French themselves, and decreed, that the Monks and Nuns should be pensioned from the proceeds of the monastic properties. This law was at last evaded by the Regency, the members of which being less disposed to innovate, connived at and aided in the infraction. But a precedent was established; and when the Monks resumed their habits, they were gazed on as novel in Madrid and other large towns; and the children, the men of this generation, who had been born and brought up since the day of their extinction, instead of looking on with veneration,

as their fathers had done in their childhood, made merry at their grotesque variety.

Until now, the care of instructing the youth had been assumed by Ecclesiastics as incumbent on themselves alone. It was now adopted by the State. The chapter of the Constitution on this subject, faulty as it was, is characteristic and important. It was there determined, that free schools should be erected in all towns of the monarchy, in which reading, writing, and arithmetic should be taught, together with "a Catechism of the Catholic religion," *which should also comprehend a brief exposition of civil obligations.* A competent number of Universities were to be created. There should be one system of public instruction in both ecclesiastical and political science. A department of public instruction should be added to the Government, but in subservience to the Cortes. And all Spaniards should have liberty to write, print, and publish their *political* (not religious) ideas, without previous censorship or licence, yet subject to the laws.

The relation between ecclesiastical and political sciences was justly recognised; but, by the last article, the liberty of the press was unjustly restricted to political writers, however licentious they might be, while any one who should attempt to impart a single ray of Gospel light to the people, would be denied the privilege. This act, together with the universal desecration of the Lord's day, by the appointment of Sundays for the chosing of electors, and, again by these, of deputies to the Cortes, was sufficient to involve any scheme of government in ruin, by setting it up as a mark on which the divine indignation must certainly fall. The Constitution of 1812 endured but for a short time: it existed but in connexion with the early and difficult transition of the nation from a state of utter bondage to one of partial freedom, and has been succeeded by another code, not disfigured by such

defects, and tending directly to the establishment of liberty of conscience.

However imperfect the ideas of religion then entertained, (and could they have been other than most erroneous?) six years' respite from the yoke of absolute despotism, and those six years spent in a noble struggle against foreign usurpers, and in united efforts for the establishment of free institutions, could not but be eminently conducive to the eventual deliverance of the people from spiritual bondage. But that period, and the years which followed, almost up to the present, have elapsed amidst varied and extreme calamities. The cannon had scarcely ceased to roar, and the blood to flow, when Ferdinand VII., released from his ignominious captivity by the combined forces of Great Britain and Spain, re-crossed the frontier, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of his subjects. It became fully apparent that the new system of representative government, as it counterbalanced regal power and prerogative, did not suit his taste. He sympathized with the Clergy, whose riches were diminished, and whose influence over the most enlightened of his subjects was brought very low, and hastened to associate them with himself in an effort to rivet again the chains of despotism on the half-emancipated people.

The cause of royal despotism and of the Church now became one, and the hatred of Spaniards was almost equally directed against their rulers and their Priests. The history of the events of those years contributes little to our present sketch; but there are two general facts which indicate the moral state of the country, and are of importance as taken in relation with the prospect now opening before us. These are the emigration of active liberals to England, France, and America, and the establishment of secret societies in Spain.

Although the absorbing interest taken by the emi-

grants in the political state of the Peninsula, and of Europe generally, left them little inclination to become acquainted with religious truth, and perhaps most of them sank deeper into infidelity than before; it is certain, on the other hand, that observation of the practical effects of Protestantism on the laws and manners of nations, and of the social benefits arising out of religious liberty, prepared them, as we shall see, to advocate reforms which are at this moment opening a wide door for the entrance of the Gospel.

The secret societies gave a yet more unfavourable bias to the national character, and imparted a fashion to the proceedings of individuals, of which it will behove all who shall labour in evangelizing Spain to be well aware. The principal of these societies were the Freemasons, said to be friends of political liberty, and haters of the priesthood; the Commoneers, a more recent and scarcely less mysterious sect; and the Ringmen, (*Anilleros,*) or conservators of the anti-liberal government. It does not concern us to speak of the politics of these societies; but their tendency must not escape inquiry. As for the Freemasons, it is said, that their labours tended to uproot the little faith in revealed religion which might be yet remaining; and on this account the Clergy were fully justified in denouncing them as impious, however unjustifiable may have been their *mode* of dealing with them. The author does not pretend to intimate acquaintance with Freemasons; and acknowledges, that even in that part of the world there are respectable men among them, who, however, scarcely, if at all, frequent the Lodges, and are not fully aware of the tendency of their craft. But he has witnessed the demoralizing influence of Masonry over unstable members of his flock in Gibraltar; has been bound to ascertain its theory at least; has observed a fundamental rule of the Lodges to be, that every characteristic truth of Christianity be

suppressed in silence; and has witnessed, with little less than horror, the zeal of a Protestant Clergyman in labouring from house to house to vanquish just prejudices, and to gather in converts to his fraternity; merging the obligations of the Minister of Christ in the engagements of Grand-Master of the Lodges of a Spanish province. Righteous laws, and the influence of sound principles in England, may check the exuberance of iniquity, and render some enormities impracticable; but one deed of darkness, related as it was divulged by the perpetrator himself, may serve as a specimen of Freemasonry in Spain. The anecdote was given in Gibraltar, some seven or eight years ago, by a Spaniard, then occupying the situation of British Vice-Consul in one of the Balearic isles, in nearly the following words:—"Freemasonry ought to be respected on account of its *power*. It possesses great power, as you may see by the fact I will relate. I was Grand-Master of a Lodge, of which one of the members was a Colonel; but it was not allowed that any one should acknowledge himself to belong to us, that we might not be exposed to persecution. But the Colonel's wife became very uneasy at the absence of her husband, night after night; and the more so as, although he never came home until towards morning, he was always sober, yet would not say where he had been. She was not satisfied by his assurances that he had not been in bad company; and one morning, on his return, he found that she had been sitting up all night, weeping. He was overcome by her tears; and, being wounded by her suspicions, said, that she need not be alarmed, for he had only been at the *Lodge*, where he usually met gentlemen whom she well knew, and whose society she could not have any objection that he should enjoy. She was perfectly satisfied with the explanation; and the next evening, in a company of ladies, said to one who sat near her, 'So Don ——,

your husband, is a Mason.' 'O no, he is not.' 'Yes, he is. Mine is; and so is Don ——, and Don ——, &c., and so is your husband.' The wives of these persons taxed them with being Masons, which they all denied. But the next time the Colonel came to the Lodge, *we* did not allow a limb of him to be seen again."

The Commoneers were an extensively-organized body, every member of which was bound by oath, at the time of his admission, to resist tyranny, defend the Constitution, stand by his associates at all hazards, and *keep the secret*. This secret was neither more nor less than the names of the brotherhood, their meetings, and their proceedings in general. It comprehended whatever it should not be thought expedient to divulge. The whole body was arranged in subordinate ranks, in constant correspondence with a supreme central board, and exercising a strict watchfulness and jurisdiction over all the members. The statutes of these people, and the regulations for their internal government, constitute a curious document, secretly printed, as secretly possessed, and therefore not to be met with except by accident.

It is presumed that the discipline of the Ring-men was similar; but this is not worth knowing. The method of combining *secretly* instead of openly, as in free countries, induced a habit of deliberate falsification, even in the plainest business, rendered the assumption of a false character a thing of course, and fostered the spirit of distrust which had been created by the Inquisition and the Confessional, which, of all secret societies, are the most perfect and the most mischievous. These paragraphs may appear to be digressive from our main object; but they are introductory to the following.

Persons the most averse to equivocation of any kind are presumed to be in connexion with some political craft; as if it were impossible to be otherwise with any

who are distinguished from others in principle or practice; and so general has the notion become in this part of the world, that even in Gibraltar an Englishman, and not a stranger, once told the Missionary, that a Methodist society was formed in Cadiz, and that "*it must have been so, because a new secret society had been lately established there.*" * It is currently presumed, the efforts made by the Bible Society and by ourselves are in connexion with some political object, not as yet avowed; and nothing will counteract the notion, and place our proceedings in a right point of view, but perseverance in the most undisguised manner; and perhaps native agents, however well qualified in some respects, will not yet be found capable (unless their piety be of the most decided kind, and attended with an extraordinary degree of simplicity) of divesting themselves of the habit of *contrivance* which is at utter variance with both the letter and spirit of the Gospel of Christ. There must be nothing dark or evasive about a Missionary in any part of the world; yet even a good man might be betrayed into excessive caution, against which he must be on his guard in Spain. He should be accredited by a public body, not travel incognito, never conceal his object, nor allow himself to pass as a private and irresponsible person. The open course may not be the smoothest for a beginner; but by it he will maintain an elevated ground, and be kept aloof from involuntary association with an unknown series of

* In Malta, the Methodists were, and probably still are, called *Frammazoni*, or "Freemasons;" and the Bishop of Malta, on the principle that even a lie is holy, if it be told for the Church, in his "Pastoral Letter," written in Italian, under date of October 20th, 1841, charges the Methodists with decoying the poor into their Lodge,—*con intervenire frattanto nella loro Loggia.* No Christian church should admit the appellation of *society* any where, certainly not in such countries as Malta and Spain. The word has become thoroughly odious, and with reason.

brethren, who are watching to find out his party, and to make what use of him they can.

Notwithstanding the deplorable state of things which ensued on the return of Ferdinand, the discussion of important questions was kept up, and instead of the profound and silent veneration paid to the dominant Clergy, the controversy as to the limit of the secular and ecclesiastical powers was revived. Some, as, for example, Don Felix Amat, Titular Archbishop of Palmyra, and his nephew, Don Felix Torres Amat, afterwards Bishop of the more substantial see of Astorga, wrote several tracts, with a hope of stilling the agitation, by conciliating the adverse parties. But this has not been done, nor ever will.

In the year 1820 Romanism received another death-wound. Ferdinand reluctantly affected to revive the Constitution. The Cortes were assembled, the monastic orders were again subjected to reduction, and the Priests most effectually disserved their cause, by taking up arms in favour of absolute monarchy. The struggle of parties again lasted about three years, at the expiration of which time the sales of Church property were cancelled, the old system revived for a little, and the irreconcilable enmity between Priests and people was aggravated. During those three years, the press again teemed with infidel books; but not without some mingling of useful truths, and instructive treatises by authors of a better sort. The invaluable work of Campomanes on Mortmain, for example, was brought into view in a new edition; and some useful tracts,—useful in their kind, although without any tincture of evangelical principle,—conveyed information on ecclesiastical matters. Yet the authors, either by choice or necessity, generally followed the old system of secrecy, and withheld their names. Such a work was the "Letters of Don Roque Leal," written by Villanueva, who treated, in a noble style of independence and erudition, on

"Appeal to the Civil Power, Subjection of the Clergy to the same, Tithes, Church Property, Suppression of Monasteries, the Jesuits, Subjection of Friars to the Bishops, and the external Discipline of the Church." This learned and, in many respects, excellent man afterwards became well known as a refugee in England and Ireland, and was employed to translate some evangelical works for the benefit of Spain.

Yet, every thing that was written, however learned, exhibited a total ignorance even of the first elements of saving truth; while the writers proceeded on the false principle, already adverted to, of allowing that the Church should retain its *doctrine*, at the same time that it should reform its *discipline*, and this in spite of the fact, notorious throughout Popedom, that at Rome, doctrine and discipline are one. For we ask again, What is the supremacy of the Pope, what are the orders of the Clergy, and the degrees of the priesthood, what is the sacrament of penance, and what are all the every-day transactions of their churches, but affairs of discipline, invested with the sanction of a doctrine that is said to be immutable? And, besides this mistake, so much gross and licentious infidelity was mixed up in their books, whatever might be the subjects treated, that it is to be apprehended that the little light let in upon the country was then quenched in darkness; and while just nothing was done in England on behalf of the Spaniards, the French infidels were unwearied in propagating their notions, and succeeded in *creating a taste* for their books, by publishing translations of the worst of them. The practice is still continued; these wretched productions are read with avidity; and the literature of Spain is by consequence *totally corrupt*.

But let us discern the hand of God. Amidst the strife and blasphemy of those days, other and very different means were being employed by the Head of the

brethren, who are watching to find out his party, and to make what use of him they can.

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translation the whole dogma of his sect. The plan was laid with admirable art, in exact adaptation to circumstances. For Spain did not, nor does, possess any fund of biblical learning, properly so called. There is not in the language one standard work of Hebrew criticism; and, if the writer may presume to judge from conversations with some of the most learned Ecclesiastics, Amat included, the science of biblical interpretation has yet to be begun. The Clergy themselves would, therefore, be easily persuaded that the translator, with whom very few of them could bear comparison, was a giant in Hebrew and Greek literature, as he probably would have been if educated in almost any other country, and would pay a profound deference to his opinion. A fluent and modernized style would captivate superficial readers, (and these are every where the majority,) and a Bible free from obscurity would be deemed perfected by those who, being utterly uninstructed, desired to understand its contents. The exhibition of the Latin Vulgate on the same page, and the use of italics in the explanatory phrases and sentences, largely intermingled with the text of the translation, would serve to mark the one as the *authentic version*, and the other as the *theological paraphrase*, or comment. Incomparable ingenuity, quickened by intense study during the best years of the author's life, would command respect from every reader; and the *royal orders* of Charles IV., Ferdinand VII., and the Governess Christina, would constitute it an authorized book.

A review of the text might be tedious; but those readers who have attended to such matters know full well what are the usual characteristics of Romish paraphrases. Profiting by the experience of his more rigid predecessor, Don Felix did not proceed to publish his version until he had propitiated those who might have hindered its circulation. As this

work has excited much interest, especially in the committees of some of our great Societies,* it may not be thought unimportant to relate the course pursued preparatory to its publication, borrowing his own account. He gives it thus :—

" Towards the end of the year 1822, in the retirement of a cell in the convent of Franciscan Fathers of Sanpedor, near the sanctuary of Monserrate, I finished at last the long task of fifteen years. In pursuance of a royal order of His Majesty, communicated to me by the Ordinary Ecclesiastical, and in pursuance of the desire expressed by *the Censors* also, named by virtue of a royal order, dated July 10th, 1815, I came to this Court, (Madrid,) to be present at some meetings of the Censors, in which the revision of my manuscript should be brought to a close ; and, *as I yielded at once to the wise reflections which they made to me on some points*, the work was happily concluded. The approbation of my manuscript was then made known to His Majesty. Having afterwards obtained from His Eminence the Archbishop, Primate, the permission to print, as also the singular favour of His Majesty that this version should bear the royal device of his august name, *which so much recommends it*, I began the impression, commencing with the New Testament, the reading of this being most useful to the faithful in general, for whom the version is chiefly intended."

* One of those Societies so far admired the work, (although it had been examined at their own request, and its errors minutely pointed out,) as to engage an individual, a Spanish Priest, totally ignorant of the original languages, almost ignorant of Latin, and a stranger to evangelical theology, to revise this version, and republish it in London, under their imprint. The New Testament, rather mutilated than revised, was printed in 1837, and a copy, handsomely bound, with mitre and crook on the covers, was forwarded to the Spanish Bishop. His name, and *the holy Church of Barcelona*, figure on the title page, in the style so characteristic of that class of Churchmen.

The Bishop of Loryma sent up the following report, addressed to the Minister of Grace and Justice :—

"Most excellent Sir,—On the 13th July, 1815, Don Nicolas María Sierra, then Judge of the Department of Printing, *(juez de imprentas,)* forwarded to me an official, inclosing a special order of His Majesty, communicated on the 10th of the same month by His Excellency the Minister of Grace and Justice, in which he commanded, that 'as soon as the labours of D. Felix Torres Amat, in the translation of the Bible which he had begun, should be concluded, they should be sent to me, to be examined by me and the persons whom I might point out.' They have been sent to me, accordingly ; and, having examined them, together with the persons whom I have thought most suitable on account of their piety and their understanding, EVEN of the Hebrew and Greek languages, in which the originals of the Holy Bible were written, it results from the reports which they have given respectively, and from the judgment which we have formed of the translation, that it is in conformity with the brief of our Most Holy Father Pius VI., and *does not contain any thing at variance with the doctrines of our holy religion ; besides, that it is so* FORMED *that by means of interlinear explanations in a different letter, the sense of the text is sufficiently explained,* and regard is had to economy, reducing it to few volumes, (!) which will doubtless contribute to its being more universally read. Wherefore, and the Diocesan Board of the late Most Eminent Archbishop of Toledo having agreed to the same, I am not only of opinion that the said translation does not contain any thing that should hinder it from being printed, but consider that it is *very useful at a time when the London Bible Society is scattering abroad through the whole world so many millions of versions of the Vulgate in vulgar languages, without any explanation or note whatever,* the want of which may

cause most serious mischief to the Catholic Church. This is my opinion, which I pray your Excellency to bring to the knowledge of His Majesty, whom God keep, &c., &c. Madrid, 21st April, 1823."

Although fifteen years had been spent in the preparation of his work, the author professes that he would have employed yet more time in correcting it, and bringing it nearer to his standard of perfection, had he not seen that large editions of the New Testament in Spanish were published out of Spain, understood that it was intended to print thirty thousand copies of Scio's Bible without the notes, experienced *the harm which had been already occasioned* by an edition of eight thousand, which was disposed of in a short time, and heard that it was in contemplation to print a large edition of the Bible for Spanish America, should his be delayed.

However the Spaniards might be entertained by "the royal device" on the title-page, and however earnest one party in the Popish Church of Spain might be to neutralize the harm said to have been done by Padre Scio and the Bible Society, there was another party, with the Roman Congregation of the Index at its head, who regarded the business with an evil eye. It could not escape their better discernment, that the endeavour to counteract the alleged evil would eventually increase it, by setting mind into motion in speculation about religion and holy writ. As it was not so desirable to oppose directly the King and the dignitaries who had committed themselves as patrons, sinister reports as to the translator were made at Rome, and he found it necessary to pay court in the same quarter. He engaged the Nuncio at Madrid to send a copy of the New Testament, with its "royal device," to the holy father, Pius VII., (the same Pope as had first honoured the Bible Society with his denunciation in 1816,) accompanied with "a humble and respectful address to

His Holiness." On this he received a complimentary sort of letter from his Secretary, amounting to nothing, and leaving the Pope free to approve or disapprove, as the current might go, and which, for the amusement of the curious, is copied in the Appendix. (No. II.) In this letter, the Pope and his Secretary evaded a chief point, by affecting to take the work to be a mere private undertaking, and commending the *idea* of the individual who executed it (*di lei pensiero*). But the above-mentioned Congregation took the affair in hand, and vexatiously withheld their dictamen for two years and a half, while Amat was teased with rumours that he was in league with the Bible Society, &c. At last it was communicated to him by the Nuncio that they had enjoined,—

1. That he should place, under the respective passages, notes, which he had published in a small "dictionary" apart; and, 2. That he should show his readers that *the reading of the Bible is not necessary to salvation.* As to the desired arrangement of the notes, it was not effected, because they declined the trouble of giving him some direction which he requested. But he amply discharged his commission, by duly instructing the readers of the second edition, that they might go to heaven without reading the word of God. He borrowed chiefly the language of Fenelon, another obsequious advocate of Romanism.

Notwithstanding this trifling compliance, his mind was soured by the misunderstanding with Rome. He had been urged to ask permission of the Pope to publish his Bible; but he had steadily refused to solicit any other sanction than that of his Sovereign. Intrigues were doubtless set on foot to thwart him; but they tended to alienate him from the Papal See, and to produce feelings in his mind, at variance with his printed works, and to direct his influence, which is not small, into the scale of liberty in Spain, during its

subsequent quarrel with the court of Rome. It also led him to enlist the Spanish Bishops on his side, which Scio did not, or could not do; and thus their sanction was given to the publication of a Bible, however imperfect, and another blow given to the ancient prejudice. He has therefore been instrumental for good, beyond what he could anticipate or would desire; and probably, to borrow a familiar expression of his own, as he "stood on the shoulders of Scio, and saw a greater way than he," so may another stand on his shoulders, and see further still; each translator thus advancing on the labours of his predecessor.

From the description now given of this work, it is evident that it does not class with *versions* of the Bible, but with *paraphrases*, and that its direct influence must be unfavourable to the truth. But its most remarkable characteristic is found in the prefaces and notes, where no opportunity is lost of making unfavourable mention of Protestants, whom he associates with Deists, heretics, and impious, according to the general custom of Popish declaimers, but which in this case is done to serve as a blind to cover the author, at our expense, from the imputation of being in correspondence with Protestant Societies, and is the more dishonourable to the Bishop, as he had long been in familiar intercourse with at least one English Clergyman, and has professed to us to entertain the most liberal and charitable views. This duplicity, however, so contrary to the practical veracity enjoined in the New Testament, is *a part* of Romanism; and it is worthy of serious consideration, whether it be not in reprobation of the lying spirit which actuates all classes of people in this country, bating individual exceptions, that God has not yet honoured one of these learned and eminent men by employing him extensively in the so-much-needed work of moral renovation. A false pretence of fidelity to the system which they despise at heart, and deride in words, is found in

almost every book in which the subject treated of was thought to require a set-off against a few minor truths timidly expressed.

After seeing the word of God put into paraphrase for the avowed purpose of counteracting the "mischief" caused by a literal version of a less faithful translation, we are prepared to witness any literary contrivance tending to the same end. The production of Amat is incomparably superior to a pretended copy of the Apostolic Epistles, published in 1816 by one Francisco Jimenez, of which an exact translation of part of a chapter is here given as a specimen of Romish honesty, and may be verified by referring to the Appendix. (No. III.) It is from the third chapter of St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy, verses 1 to 7.

"1. It is very certain, my son, that whoever, being moved only by zeal for the honour of God and salvation of souls, desires to be a Bishop, desires a good thing. 2. But it is indispensable that he endeavour to adorn himself with the virtues necessary for this dignity. It behoves that the Bishop be blameless in his manners, and that he have not had, or have not, more than one wife at the time of his election. It further behoves that he be sober, prudent, modest, and chaste; he should exercise hospitality with the poor and pilgrims; and be instructed in religion in such a manner, that he may teach it with clearness to the faithful, and know how to defend it. 3. He must not be given to wine; nor should he smite any one with his words, nor with his hands; but, on the contrary, be modest and gentle in his conduct and discourses. He should avoid law-suits, and all covetousness, and manifest, on the contrary, his meekness, charity, and liberality. 4. By endeavouring to educate his children in a holy manner, and taking care that in them there be not seen any immorality, he will show that he governs well his house, as he is bound to do. 5. Because if

he does not know how to govern it, and abandons it, how shall we judge that he will care well for the church of God, and for the souls confided to his direction? 6. One that is newly converted to the faith ought not to be elected as Bishop; because there is danger that he form a great opinion of seeing himself preferred to others, and come to be puffed up with the high dignity, and thus fall into the condemnation which the devil suffered for his pride. 7. It does not suffice that the Christians have a good opinion of him, but it is also necessary that the infidels should have no real motive to censure his conduct before his election, in order that he be not despised, and, seeing the bad repute in which he is held, fall at last into despair, which is the snare which the devil is wont to lay."

This wretched production came to nought; and it would seem that the copies moulder in obscurity, merely serving as a specimen of the manner in which the holy Scriptures are disguised for party purposes. But there is another work of that time, which still obtains too good a share of popular attention. The Infante Don Francisco de Paula Antonio, brother of Ferdinand VII., seems to have taken alarm at a presumed spread of Protestant principles in Spain, or at least to have lent his name and influence to those who thought the Church to be in danger; for he employed, unless this were a *testa de ferro*, one Alfonso Chalumeau de Vernuil, a Frenchman, and of "the order of St. John," to translate into Spanish Cobbett's mendacious libel on the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland. The grossly incorrect statements and bold predictions contained in the preface of the book, which was published in 1827, are an exact specimen of the style assumed by our antagonists in Spain. After extolling the Catholic religion as the only means for appeasing human passions, and establishing peace, good order, and happiness in nations, because this

religion alone is rich enough to *repay* man for the *sacrifice* he is required to make of the impetuous desires of a corrupt nature, he launches out into a tirade, from which we take the following characteristic sentences:—

"For this reason, all publicists, having considered also the religious anarchy which has for a long time devoured England, have announced an inevitable overthrow, which, if we take into account the disturbances which now agitate her, seems to be nearer at hand than is generally thought. After having *sold their conscience to their Kings*, the minds of all being agitated by the diversity of religious persuasions, in consequence of the infinity of sects which she shelters in her bosom, and having founded her happiness *exclusively* in her industry, and in the science of loans, at the same time despising the more secure bases of the sociability of peoples; must she not necessarily suffer all the consequences of her apostasy? And will not anarchy, the inseparable companion of irreligion, chastise at last in fury *a people of rebels, who have been long making jest of the supreme law of their God?*"

He taunts us on our "industrialism," and represents us as a collection of sects, who are consigning each other to eternal flames. He says that Ireland was wronged by the British Government; but that judicious Protestants at last were beginning to relent and to return to the communion of the "Catholic Church." And our Cavalier represents Sir *William Cobbett* as a noble example of candour; for that although it was not yet *certain* that he had returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church, he spake just as if he were a Catholic, nay, more boldly than an "English Catholic" would presume to do. He affirms that "the lightest part of his work is that of proving that the Reformation has impoverished and degraded the mass of the people of England and Ireland. The general confession in England is, that Cobbett is unanswerable, and

his letters have only been replied to with empty declamations." It is asserted that "the bitter fruits of the Reformation have been the national debt, the loans, the loss of the American colonies, the unfaithfulness to God, the crimes, the wretchedness, and the degradation which in the present day *characterize* the English people." With the conclusion of his preface, as a rare example of the effrontery with which our country and religion were held up to the contempt of the Spaniards by the high Popish and Royalist party, now happily removed from their former station, this chapter may be closed:—

"We have recounted, as succinctly as possible, the principal facts contained in the history of the Protestant Reformation of England and Ireland, omitting many others of not inferior interest. After having read this important work, and seen the energy with which a Protestant, without any further motive (?) than his love of justice, vindicates the Catholics from the injurious imputations with which they have been slandered, and refutes the calumnies which have been so impudently heaped on the Catholic religion, it is impossible but that every sensible and impartial man should put this question to himself:—Can there be yet in England any one who dares to call himself a partisan and admirer of the Reformation? How is it that the mere *name* of Protestant* has not come to be a reproach? Surely, if the disastrous deeds of the Reformation were generally known by the English people, it could not but regard with just contempt their Reformers, their Bible Societies,* and even the so-much-vaunted progress of their knowledge. Heartily did the advocates of the Reformation fear this: but to obviate the inconvenience, English cunning has called falsehood and calumny to its aid; has made the

* Yet Don Alfonso was not an Oxonian.

greatest efforts to involve the truths of history in darkness; and has unfortunately mastered its criminal design. But how could it happen otherwise in a country where children are taught, even from their mother's lap, to consider a Catholic as a perverse, false, contemptible, and sanguinary being? How could the Anglican Clergy fail to employ all imaginable means for keeping the people in an error to which they owe their existence, and for which, although their flock, compared with that of the Catholic Church, *is not in the proportion of more than one to five hundred*, they receive, notwithstanding, as Cobbett himself says, not only a larger revenue than the Clergy of all Catholic nations, *but more than that of all Christian people in the world, Catholic or Protestant?*

"But we need not wonder that Protestantism is still dominant in England. In a country where every thing is put to sale, and in which even honour and conscience are made to bend to vile interest, is it strange that opulent and cunning rogues should have managed to lead astray the poor people by dint of lies and calumnies? But let the enemies of the eternal Church tremble, nor flatter themselves that they shall prolong much further the reign of error and infamy. After all, truth will break the chains with which they have essayed to bind her; she will nobly rear her head amidst the tyrants, and overawe them by her majestic presence. The people, irritated at having been so long victims of the avarice of their masters, will cast off with indignation the Reformation and its Clergy. They will humble themselves before the Catholic Church, or they will give loose to fury and vengeance; and England will either become again a flourishing country, or the focus of all manner of disorders. She bears within her bosom a principle of dissolution; and there burns within herself a volcano, of which the eruption must annihilate her, as history teaches us

that it has happened to all nations that have reached the pitch of irreligion to which she has arrived. In such a state, the least unfavourable incident will suffice to precipitate her into the abyss. The deficit of a few millions in her treasury, the failure of a harvest, a momentary interruption of labour in her factories, in short, one spark will be sufficient to kindle the fire which must regenerate or utterly consume her.

"Such is the destiny which, consulting history and right reason, and meditating on the immoral state to which that proud people is brought down, we must believe threatens overbearing England. It is not possible to foresee what part she will take in the terrible alternative which awaits her; but, according to all human appearances, it may be said with certainty, that a violent commotion, a terrible crisis, and disastrous ruin, will immediately precede the destruction of her power, and the annihilation of heresy.* In vain, to avoid her ruin, will she employ all the tricks of her Machiavelian policy; in vain, agitated as she is by an implacable hatred of the Catholic religion, will she make the painful sacrifice of her gold, in order to annihilate it. There is no human power that can retard the moment marked out by divine justice in which to punish the immorality of nations. Her traffic and her industry shall be ruined; Protestantism shall perish; and her efforts, and even her religious fury, shall subserve the triumph of the Catholic religion, of this divine religion, which, while others invent gods like men, alone teaches men to become like God, and which, to employ the words of an eminent civilian, 'not seeming to have any other object than the happiness of the other world, makes mankind happy in this also.'"

* It is the custom of Rome to threaten, in the shape of predictions, what she wishes to perform.

Thus prophesied a venal writer in Spain sixteen years ago; but, through the help of God, we continue to this day. His patron afterwards became an emigrant, or something like it; his party is crushed; his cause is desperate in that country. In England, it is true, Popery has gained ground, but apostolical Christianity has gained ground also; and not only in England, but even on the European peninsula, and on the continent in general, nay,

> "Where'er the circling sun displays
> His rising beams or setting rays."

CHAPTER V.

Reforms and penal Code of 1821–22—Tendency of this Code comparatively regarded—Encouraging national Facts—French Army invades Spain to overthrow the Constitution—Proceedings of Ferdinand in Favour of the Church—Reaction of religious Despotism—Martyrdom of a Valencian—Murder of a Jew.

But we must notice the legislation of the Cortes of 1821–22, in regard to religion. The old law was that of the *Partidas*, a code of ancient laws which began to be collected by Don Fernando of Castile, and were digested and published under that title by his son Alonso X., about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Cortes of 1813, which abolished the Inquisition, had retained those laws, but committed the administration of them to the Bishops, instead of the Inquisitors, empowering the secular Judges to act conjointly with them. This is related and commented on in our third chapter. The Cortes extraordinary of 1821–22 resumed the work of external reformation. They abolished the right of asylum in churches, as being inconsistent with the administration of justice, and with public peace, and also repugnant to the spirit and intention of Christianity. They declared the members of the priesthood to be subject to the authority of civil Courts in common with other citizens, and thus deprived them of an unreasonable and dangerous immunity. They passed a law prohibitory of admission to sacred orders until the number of Priests should be sufficiently reduced; and by that act asserted a power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction beyond any that had been hitherto exercised by laymen. They proceeded with the gradual suppression of mo-

nasteries ; and even obtained from the Pope his sanction to a measure for making good the ranks of the priesthood by the ordination of ex-Friars, as long as the race should last, so as not to swell the ecclesiastical estate, by the admission of laymen into it, until this should become absolutely necessary in course of time. They led the way in making Priests responsible for their political conduct in the discharge of their ministry ; and courted and bound them at the same time, by giving them the title, and exacting from them the responsibilities, of public functionaries. They took the maintenance of the Clergy into their own hands, and made it breach of law to send fees to Rome for bulls, absolutions, or under any other pretext. The chapter, "Of Crimes against the Religion of the State," in the penal code, is not copied here, as it was soon after abolished ; and we may venture to say, that it will never be revived ; but, as it remains archived in the history of Spain, it serves to demonstrate that there was a real advance of sentiment in favour of religious liberty. Until then, heresy, so called, was to be punished with death by fire, confiscation of goods, and infamy to the second and third generation. According to this code, death would have been inflicted only on one who should "conspire, directly and in fact, to establish another religion in Spain, or that the Spanish nation should cease to profess the Roman Catholic apostolic religion." In other cases, fines, imprisonment, and banishment were denounced against the offenders ; but many of the articles were so drawn up, whether through carelessness or design, that, under a lenient or favouring administration, nothing could be easier than evasion of the penalty. And, so far were the Cortes from encouraging heresy-hunters, that they enacted the following articles, with which the chapter closes :—

"Art. 243. The secular or regular Ecclesiastic who,

in the exercise of his ministry, shall describe as irreligious, heretical, or suspected, any person or doctrine not declared such by the competent authority, according to the laws, shall suffer the penalty of censure, and an arrest of from one to six months, and be deprived, during that time, of half of his temporalities, to be made use of as a fine, and be liable besides to whatever punishment he may deserve for defamation, should the person aggrieved require it.

"Art. 244. The secular or regular Ecclesiastic that shall, in like manner, preach or teach doctrines repugnant to the maxims of the Gospel, superstitious practices, false miracles or prophecies, or any thing else prejudicial to religion and to the people, shall be denounced to his Bishop by the local authorities, that he may apply the proper remedy. Should he not do this immediately, the authorities shall apply to the Government, and may, meanwhile, suspend the Ecclesiastic from the exercise of preaching and teaching.

"However, if, in any of the ways mentioned in this article, the Ecclesiastic shall cause grave scandal, and interruption of the public order, or shall in any way prejudice morality, or the security and tranquillity of any person or persons, he shall be proceeded against without the necessity of denouncing him to his Bishop, and shall suffer the penalties prescribed in the preceding article."

On reading the discussions which took place previously to the adoption of these Articles, it appears clearly, that the legislators would have gone much farther than they did, had the times favoured. Many of the speakers offered such objections as would have been made in a Protestant Parliament, but refrained from urging them, and accepted the explanations of the Committee appointed to prepare the project of law. Much more might have been gained; but

while the Cortes were busy in forming the penal code, the whole body of the priesthood, covertly, yet powerfully, supported by the King himself, was labouring incessantly to cast off the restraint of representative government; and the law had scarcely passed, when over the whole country there were powerful bands in arms against the Constitution. The King, making use of his favourites, the Priests, inculcated by them on the lower classes of the people, that the cause of absolute monarchy was the same as that of God. But those very acts of the constitutional legislature which, to our eye, appear extremely intolerant, (as in fact they were,) were so far removed from the deadly severity of unmitigated Popery; and—by the ambiguity of some clauses, the restrictions laid down in others, and the nature of the newly-appointed tribunals—allowed so many ways of evasion or escape, when the causes of offenders should be intrusted to skilful pleaders, that the Priests and Friars found themselves bereft of their former power; and all parties saw, nay, it was the common understanding, that the liberals would never regard these acts as ultimate, but only as introductory to a thoroughly different state of things.

It may be demurred, that those liberals were infidel, and that therefore their proceedings should be held in no esteem. If the word be taken in its more usual acceptation, it is not quite certain that they were infidel. It is granted that they were not believers; for they had not a right sense of the importance of true religion, nor did they exercise saving faith in Christ, nor entertain any thing like correct views of Gospel truth. But what Papist has such faith, and entertains such views? Not one. Besides, we are not now contemplating the labours of Evangelists, but a less hallowed, although scarcely less interesting, scene, in which God himself, seated above the whirlwind and ruin of political contention, a strife carried on by

wicked men on every side, so overruled events, that, in the issue, Popery was despoiled of its grandeur, its power, and its charm, and that the harlot of Babylon ceased to make this people drunk with the wine of her idolatrous seductions. And it is only in this view of the matter that much of this volume is written. But for the sake of admiring the sovereign providence of God, it were better to have passed over the history of the last half-century in silence, as far as Spain in general has been concerned. It is essential to our plan to notice the following national facts.

One is, that from the year 1808 to 1823, although six years of High-Church and State despotism intervened, the number of Friars and Nuns in Spain was reduced by one-half; and a considerable reduction, although not so great, was effected in the number of the still too numerous Priests. In connexion with this circumstance, the ecclesiastical or clerical profession was no longer so lucrative nor so honourable as it had hitherto been; and a permanent and increasing preponderance was consequently given to national interests over those of the Romish Church.

Another is, that a party was then formed among the Clergy who had adopted sound doctrine, as regarded the single point of relation between themselves and the State of which they saw that they were members; and that they committed themselves to the propagation of principles of which we shall see, by the following pages, more ample developement.

And yet another is, that, although the efforts of the King and his non-ostensible advisers, seconded by the great majority of the Clergy, and supported by vast masses of the common people, were sufficient to enkindle the flames of a religious civil war from one end of the Peninsula to the other, this combined force was not powerful enough to suppress the rising liberties of Spain; but that the same Ferdinand who, in

the year 1814, could, by one series of acts of undisputed tyranny, dissolve the Cortes, imprison the best men of the land, and set up again the ancient despotism, almost without stirring a murmur of disobedience, could not withhold his sanction, in March, 1820, to the re-establishment of the system he had overthrown, nor could he recover what he then lost until October, 1823, nor then, but by the infamous contrivance of calling in a foreign army to slaughter his unmanageable subjects.

A large French military force entered Spain by land. The Royalists, rebels against the nation in favour of the King, joined them, and they made their way together to Madrid, and thence to Cadiz. The Cortes had taken the King and his court with them, first to Seville, where they continued upwards of three months, and then to Cadiz, where they were assembled between three and four months longer, until the city was besieged by the French army by sea and land; and, under cover of the French fleet, Ferdinand and his family walked out of Cadiz, crossed the bay, and threw themselves into the hands of the Duke d'Angouleme, who was waiting to receive them in the small town of Port St. Mary, on the other side of the bay. He there dared to do what he could not have hazarded, had he remained alone among his own dear children, as he ironically or hypocritically called the Spaniards; and on the 1st of October, 1823, issued his royal mandate, dated from that place, in which, among other memorable sentences, we find the following:—"Being again seated on the throne of St. Ferdinand by the wise and just hand of the Almighty, by the generous resolutions of my powerful allies, and by the strenuous efforts of my beloved cousin, the Duke d'Angouleme, and his valiant army; desiring to provide a remedy for the most urgent necessities of my people, and to manifest to the whole world my real will in the first moment in

which I have recovered my liberty; I have thought it good to decree the following:—First. All the acts of the Government, called Constitutional, of whatever class and character they may be, which have domineered over my people from the 7th of March, 1820, until this day, October 1st, 1823, are null and void; declaring, as I do, that during all this time I have been deprived of liberty, obliged to sanction laws, and to issue the orders, decrees, and regulations which, against my will, were framed and put forth by the said Government."

The perjured Monarch, as if impatient, by associating the Church with himself, to be exposed to the hatred, contempt, and execration of an oppressed and desperate people, while supported by the foreign army, hastened with imbecile impetuosity to restore to it its former splendour, and presented himself with an affectation of devout triumph at its altars. His itinerary from Port St. Mary to Madrid, as it is traced in the Gazette, exhibits a succession of spectacles which must have elated the priesthood beyond measure. We cannot conveniently attend him step by step, but just stay to observe his public acts at a few of the halting-places.

At Jerez de la Frontera he visits the Carthusian monastery, showing great sorrow because of the losses it had sustained. Here he despatches a decree, constituting one Victor Saez his Confessor and Secretary of State. He is greeted with "loyal" shouts of "Long live the absolute King!" clears up his spirits at night at a splendid ball and "abundant supper;" and next day, at church, rubs out any stain that might have remained on his conscience, after these hilarities, by adoring a notable image of "Our Lady of the Rosary." About this time, he shuts up the University of Salamanca; which, however, is a trifle, compared with other doings of a later date.

At Lebrija, he satisfies his conscience again, by issu-

ing a decree for a novel festival, "to satisfy" the consecrated wafers, which, they tell him, have been trodden under foot. To this end he resolves, that "in all the towns of the vast dominions which divine Providence has confided to his direction and government, shall be celebrated a solemn religious service of amends *(desagravios)* to the most holy sacrament, at which the judicial and municipal authorities, and other public bodies of the State, are to attend, imploring the clemency of the Almighty towards all the nation." He further commands all the ecclesiastical dignitaries to appoint missions; that is to say, processions of preaching Friars, singing hymns, and preaching in the public squares, and in churches, "that shall impugn erroneous, pernicious, and heretical doctrines, and inculcate those of evangelical *morality;* (!) and that they shut up in monasteries, under close observation, those Ecclesiastics who have been agents of the impious faction," to which he was indebted for restoration to his throne in 1814, and of which he had, three years before, sworn himself to be the head.

At Seville he is regaled with all manner of delicacies. Here are assembled, *first of all*, the Pope's Nuncio, foreign Ambassadors, and the personages necessary to make up a splendid court. He hies him to the cathedral, where they also are congregated, and "*adores the body and sword* of the saint King Ferdinand." Of course the people are mad with joy, excepting perhaps the widows and orphans of those who lately perished there: these may be sobered by grief. A commemorative medal is issued from the Mint; and "the vehement love and loyalty of the people" move them to cry, "Long live the King, a thousand and thousand times our Lord!" Royal devotion attains to the highest pitch of national taste, as he kneels at the shrine of Ferdinand in the cathedral, or indulges in the sight of blood at a bull-fight right royal in the amphitheatre.

On the same day in which he adores the ashes of his patron saint, he publishes another decree, characteristic of his desire to identify in the minds of the populace the perfectly accordant systems of absolute monarchy and priestly sway over all things in heaven, on the earth, and under the earth. Let us read it :—

"The continual demonstrations of love and loyalty which I receive from my people, and the presence of many of *my faithful vassals*, whom Providence, by means of admirable prodigies, has delivered from the death which they awaited with resignation in prisons, as the reward of their constancy in loving and serving me, remind me with bitter grief of the many victims which have been sacrificed by revolutionary fury ; *and, although it is to be believed that divine mercy has assisted with its grace those who have died in defence of religion and of their King*, yet, as there is no mortal that can present himself with assurance at the severe tribunal of the divine Judge, from whom nothing is hidden, Christian charity, and our gratitude to those *martyrs to the most sacred principles*, require that we pray fervently to the Most High to pardon those faults, which, through human frailty, they may possibly have committed, *and for which satisfaction has not yet been made ;* and to this end I have resolved, that in all the churches of the monarchy there be celebrated a solemn funeral service in suffrage for the souls of those who, from the 7th of March, 1820, have died *for sustaining God's cause and mine.* Let this be understood in the Council, and necessary measures be taken for its fulfilment. It is signed by His Majesty's royal hand."

But no one had died for sustaining the King's cause, except those whom the King had secretly excited to rebel against his Government, and to resist the army which was commissioned by himself to keep down this same rebellion at an awful sacrifice of life, which he coolly witnessed, nay, occasioned, by the duplicity of

his conduct, in order to retain his crown at any cost. His agents, for whose souls he now commands prayers to be offered, were Priests in league with highwaymen, who, deriving encouragement from success in their new vocation under royal patronage, headed large bodies of recruits, consisting of the lowest and most wretched of the people, who were collected by these same Priests, and were of course destroyed by the soldiery, armed in order to put them down by command of this hypocritical devotee, who at the same breath swore to maintain the constitution of the State, and stirred up a civil war to render its maintenance impracticable; who recklessly shed the blood of his subjects, and then commanded masses to be recited for their souls. Such is the conscience of a Romish bigot!

At the same time he gives out a decree, requiring the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to punish people who should be guilty of licentiousness of various kinds, as neglecting feast-days, speaking irreverently of the Ministers of religion, &c.; and gives commission to the Priests in general *to watch over the chastity of females!* As well might he have commissioned wolves to watch over lambs. The intention must have been similar; and, surely, no second pair could be found after Ferdinand the Seventh and Victor, who could devise a more insolent burlesque on the degradation of the Spanish vassalage.

At Cordova he is perfectly at ease. In public, he revels amidst his favourite entertainments of *Te Deums* and bull-fights; and these are pleasantly diversified by the less solemn spectacle of horse-racing for ribands and saddles. In private, he concocted, with his most excellent and reverend Prime Minister and Confessor, the methods which might be most expedient for enslaving in perpetuity his faithful vassals; and among others was that of turning over into the hands of the Church the property of the suppressed convents, to

afford the Priests a few pickings during the progress of its restoration to the Friars.

The royal party now quicken their pace towards Madrid. No obnoxious person is allowed to approach within five leagues of the road on either side. At the agricultural town of Carolina, a solemn deputation came from "the Holy Church" of Jaen, to ask the King if they should bring him "the Holy Face," which is worshipped there, to receive his adoration also. There could be no denial. The ambulatory Court halted in Carolina. The miraculous handkerchief was brought, and their Majesties and all their family went devoutly on their knees, and "adored it with the piety and fervour which have always characterized the Bourbons." Some young bulls were then baited, fireworks lighted up in the evening, "the Holy Face"* was carried back to Jaen, and King Ferdinand once more turned his steps towards Madrid, into which city he made triumphal entry on the 13th of November, to be seated once more on the throne of good St. Ferdinand, in the heart of those dominions which were again to groan under the yoke of untempered vengeance.

The press, nay, that fragment of the press which was allowed to exist as an instrument for the use of the new Government, attacked unsparingly the most worthy of the Spaniards, especially such men as Villanueva, who had written against the Court of Rome and abuses in religion:—and the alleged triumphs of Popery over Protestantism in France, discomfiture of heretics, sufferings of Roman Catholics, and whatever else could be conceived likely to excite prejudice against the religion

* This must have been the Veronica, or *vera icon*, or true image of our Lord's countenance, which, they say, was impressed on a handkerchief, used at the time of his carrying the cross. To conciliate rival claims, tradition has *folded* the handkerchief, and deposited the three parts on which the impression was thereby repeated, in Rome, Jerusalem, and Spain.

and policy of England, now became current entertainment for the more influential part of the people. Honours of nobility were lavished on Ecclesiastics; the Jesuits, and the monastic Orders in general, resumed full possession of their temporalities; the officers of the Inquisition were reinstated and provided with salaries; and every detail of civil government was adjusted to the wishes of the Clergy. For example: those apothecaries who had been licensed during the time of the Constitution, were required to give up their licenses, and to take others, by which they were allowed to exercise their calling, on condition of *defending the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary our Lady;* and the police were absolutely forbidden to allow the introduction, by sea or land, of *any book in any language*, without express license from the King himself, or an order from his Council.

It does not consist with our design to describe the re-action of Popery in detail; but the following account of a death, suffered entirely on account of religion, must not be omitted. It took place in the year 1826, and was noticed in the French newspapers at the time. The following relation was written in Spanish by an eye-witness, and has been fully verified by inquiries made on the spot:—

"On the outskirts of the city of Valencia there is a village, named Busafa. In this village was a schoolmaster, who, although born a Spaniard, professed in private life the religion of the Quakers. He was accused at the Tribunal of the Faith, and imprisoned in the city, in the prisons (so called) of St. Narcissus. The patience and meekness of this poor Quaker excited the admiration of the Alcalde and jailors. Some fellow-prisoners of the worst description, who were used to put his patience to the test, one day threw a cricket-ball with violence at his face, which inflicted a wound on his cheek; but this Spanish Quaker calmly

picked up the ball, and with the most perfect mildness put it into the hand of the person who had thrown it. When clothing or food was distributed among the prisoners, he invariably sought out some other prisoner who appeared more necessitous than himself, to whom he might impart a portion of what had fallen to him. The Lords of the Tribunal of the Faith endeavoured to induce him to make a solemn recantation of his belief as a Quaker; but he said that he could not do any thing against his conscience, nor could he lie to God. They condemned him to be hanged; and he was transferred to the condemned cell, and resigned himself fully to the will of God. On the 31st of July he was taken from the prison to the scaffold, displaying the most perfect serenity. The crosses were removed from the scaffold. He was not clothed in the black dress usually put on culprits when brought out to execution, but appeared in a brown jacket and pantaloons. With a serious countenance and unfaltering mien he ascended the scaffold, conducted by Father Felix, a barefooted Carmelite Friar, exhorting him to change his views; but the condemned victim replied in these words, which were almost all he uttered from the time of his entering the condemned cell: 'Shall one who has endeavoured to observe God's commandments be condemned?' When the rope was adjusted, he desired the hangman to wait for a moment; and, raising his eyes toward heaven, he prayed. In three minutes he ceased to live. This fact occurred but a few years ago, and was witnessed by all the inhabitants of Valencia. The hangman who executed the sentence, the Friar who attended him, and his fellow-prisoners, are yet alive; and there is no one but knows that he was an honest man, and speaks of him as the Quaker schoolmaster who gave good instruction to the children, and who was condemned to be hanged because he was a Quaker."

A writer to the *Courrier Français*, quoted in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for December, 1826, describes an *auto de fé* as having taken place shortly after this at Valencia, at which a Jew was burnt to death, and gives the name of the schoolmaster as Rissole: the orthography is not Spanish; but, perhaps, may be Valencian. The author has not read nor heard elsewhere of the murder of the Jew; but as it was *but* a Jew, the circumstance might not make a very deep impression on the Valencians then; for even now they are far behind the inhabitants of many other parts of the Peninsula in the standard of feeling on such subjects.

How many similar transactions may have been concealed under the obscurity of those days, it is impossible to conjecture. The Bible had been sent into Spain, as we have already seen, and it could not be read without effect. Hence those efforts to discredit Christianity as taught and exemplified in Protestant countries; and hence, also, an unguarded avowal of the University of Cervera, a few months after these martyrdoms had taken place: *Lejos de nosotros sea la peligrosa novedad de discurrir:* "Far from us be the dangerous novelty of investigating an opinion."

As for the French, no one believed that their only design was to suppress the Constitution, and humour the liking of Ferdinand. It was thought, that their ulterior object was to obtain the sovereignty of the country, or, at least, an undue power over it; and this impression contributed to the overthrow of Papal domination, inasmuch as the people saw combined against them their own absolute, or, as it was sometimes said, "absolutely absolute Monarch," the despotic Governments of continental Europe, the Court of Rome, and the majority of the national Clergy. For ten years longer, Spanish emigrants were schooled in foreign countries, and especially in England, and,

together with lovers of their country yet at home, brooded in sorrow over their condition, and laboured with unceasing perseverance to cast off the bondage of spiritual and civil tyranny. A new era commenced, in which the Wesleyan-Methodist Mission in Gibraltar also began to exert some influence, and attain some extension into Spain itself. Closing, therefore, this first part of our work, we proceed to those more encouraging events which begin to give interest to the Missionary history of this part of continental Europe. And as the relator will appear in the following narrative as a humble actor, in some of the more familiar passages, he will employ the first personal pronoun when speaking of himself.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of the Author to Gibraltar—First School for Natives—Permanent Establishment of Schools—First-fruits—Papists' Attempt to oppose by Violence—They then establish a School—Character of its first Masters—Our Schools described—Formation of a Spanish Methodist Society—Class and Prayer Meetings.

I LANDED at Gibraltar, in February, 1832, being appointed by the Committee of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society to take charge of the station. A good work was going forward in the small English congregation, under the superintendence of my respected predecessor; but the Mission among the native inhabitants had to be all but begun, and an entirely new system of Missionary effort organized and followed up.

A short time sufficed to acquire such a command of the Spanish language as to hold conversation, and even to preach in an imperfect manner; and after a few months, the drudgery had past, the lips obeyed the impulse of the heart as well as the dictation of the head, and ministerial duties became pleasant. Our first place of assemblage was in a private house, in concession to the fear entertained by my English friends, that it would not be practicable to assemble "Spaniards" in a place of public worship; but after a few weeks our native congregation met in the chapel, on the Sunday morning, before the English service, and after it in the evening.

About a month after our arrival, a poor woman in

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CAPT. CARTER, PINX.

A SUPPRESSED CONVENT IN THE CORK WOOD.

under the influence of spiritual instruction and prayer.

On receiving intelligence of the appointment of a second Missionary, with a view of extending our operations among the natives, I gave notice to the little Spanish congregation, that gratuitous instruction would be given to any children for whom application should be made by their parents. At first it seemed as if none would avail themselves of the offer. At length *two* were brought; at the end of three months we counted *ten;* and by the end of the first year there were *thirty*. It was not so easy to bring them under the restriction of attending divine service on the Lord's day; but this was insisted upon; and it was satisfactory to know, that, in proportion to the increase of the school, prejudice was overcome, and the rudiments of a congregation gathered. Some of the children, too, appeared to be under a good influence. Two lads professed to become Protestants, and one of these continues to this day: the other has fallen back into the world; but his mother occupies his place. The case of the former of these two boys was interesting. His parents were poor, struggling with many hardships, and every hand of their numerous family that could work was pressed into service. He was expert in serving at the counter in their little shop; and as Sunday was the day in which most business was transacted there, it was thought absolutely necessary to keep him from church on that day; and his mother called on me to request, that his presence might be dispensed with. After hearing the case, very urgent of course, my answer simply was, "I should be most happy to oblige you; but I have orders to give no such indulgence in this school." "Then if you have orders, I cannot expect you to commit yourself by breaking them for me." "Nor could I do so. The orders are binding on you as well

as on me; they are given by God, and you may find them in the Bible." This was explained in full, and she was admonished of the displeasure of God, who might be expected to baffle all her efforts, if she brought up her children in the breach of his commandments for the sake of temporary gain. In short, not to give up the benefit of a good education for her son, she yielded the point, and actually gave up the shop. Thus he was kept in a way which afterwards proved to be that of life. His temper was violent; but under counsel and prayer he was often melted into tears, and after a few months he expressed a strong desire to profess the faith of Protestants. Then he was persecuted at home; but, whether flogged or kept without his food, he persevered, and outgrew the petty vexations which might have been too powerful for many new converts of more advanced age. If this were the only circumstance of the kind, it might be regarded as sufficient proof, that our small beginning, in direct and uncompromising endeavour to communicate the knowledge of the way of salvation by faith in Christ, was sanctioned by divine approbation.* May this and similar examples be blessed to our encouragement in teaching youth!

Numbers then increased rapidly; but for many of the families that thus became connected with the Mission there was a troublous time. The cry of "heresy" was raised; a word strange to many of them, and terrible as strange; for hitherto the Popish population had been almost undisturbed in their idolatry and vice. A sermon read, or delivered, in broken Spanish to a little circle of indifferent hearers, in a private room, was not a proceeding calculated to

* When this young man had passed his minority I married him to a young woman, also taught in that school, and a member of the Wesleyan church.

excite much attention; but the rise of a regularly organized Protestant institution in the midst of the people could not be contemplated without alarm. And here we step back a little way to notice the counter-operations which were carried on against us. The first was one of brute force. It had been the invariable custom of their hired Lent-Preachers to declaim against Protestantism, and to collect and destroy Bibles; and this conduct had not been met by any public animadversion on our part. After seeking, in vain, a personal interview with the Preacher of 1833, I delivered a course of lectures against Popery, which, however imperfect, were heard by many hundreds of persons, in part at least, and served to excite some attention to the subject. The year following, the Lent-Preacher opened his course of sermons with a notice, that he intended to demonstrate the errors of Protestantism; and I attended at some of his sermons to hear how he proceeded, in order to take the defensive; but a party of men, armed with cudgels, were introduced into the church, and, by a signal from the Vicar, rushed on me to make an end of me and the controversy together. Through the guardian providence of God, I did not receive the slightest injury. The people threw themselves before the assailants, and some of them were knocked down and bruised. I refrain from giving the details of that affair; for although they might excite, they would not edify. It suffices to say, that the Lieutenant-Governor, on being appealed to by the Priests on the one hand, and on receiving the report of a highly-respectable British functionary on the other, patronized their case, returned to him censure in terms too grossly violent to be repeated, and commanded, that no protection should be given to the Missionary. The Ecclesiastic who contrived and executed the assault in the heart of his congregation, and in the midst of a sermon, is still on the spot, but in a

better mind; and I trust we sincerely reciprocate a kindly feeling, notwithstanding the utter opposition of our religious principles.

They wisely relinquished the attempt to overpower me by brute force, and instituted another kind of opposition, which has really benefited the people. Amidst the excitement produced by the affray just mentioned, our school had advanced more rapidly, and the public voice had condemned the unchristian proceedings of the Priests. It was therefore determined, at the instance of an influential lay-member of their Church, to organize a permanent system of counteractive effort; and appeal was made to the Society at Rome *de Propaganda Fide* for assistance. The result of this correspondence is thus stated by my old friend, the Vicar Apostolic, in a Pastoral Letter printed by him in Spain, and addressed "to the Catholics in Gibraltar." Having professed to prove against the infidel enemies of the Church that Christianity is the true religion, and warned his flock against the Protestants who, in the year 1517, refused obedience to the Pope and Councils, and have been adrift in uncertainty and error ever since, "Finally," he says, "respected Elders of this Church, heads of families, all ye Catholics, * * * we enjoin on you the principal duties annexed to human nature, relative to yourselves and to God; to think, above all, how you shall give a good education to your children. On it chiefly depends your salvation and their happiness. They are like a tender plant that is very easily twisted: watch over their conduct, confide their education only to religious and honest persons, who believe in the same religion in which you were born; for it is the only one true and free from error.* I tell you again, you are responsible for their life and

* The reader must bear with the bad English, as the original Spanish is as bad.

manners : it is of no use, no, it is of no use at all, to leave them riches, if they have not religious sentiments ; those very conveniences will make them eternally unhappy. Fill up, finally, the lack of all the obligations which every citizen owes to his religion, and to his fellow-creatures : we should regard with zeal, and succour them who are in need, provide good and religious masters for the indigent children, the unhappy position of whose parents does not permit them to afford it to them ; and by no means let us suffer that they be given up to a perverse life, nor that their education be confided to persons who have apostatized : in doing so, there is not, nor can there be, a sacrifice more useful to society itself, nor more pleasing to God, than providing them with good masters, that they may know betimes how to know their characteristical obligations ; they, having acquired a good, will not fail to address their ardent, fervent prayers and supplications to Heaven, that the God of mercy may grant to their benefactors all desirable and durable happiness. In short, let us manifest, in order to attain this object, the noble sentiments that animate us : your names and gifts shall be registered in the book of the establishment of public instruction that is about to be instituted ; and they will render your names grateful to posterity. Here we have already two masters, and two others, Priests, all Irishmen, whom the sacred congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, careful for our greater advancement and happiness, has taken the trouble to ordain, and assist in their outfit : it will be the peculiar care of the former to instruct children in the duties of our holy religion, teach them English," &c.

Dated " Gibraltar, November 14th, 1835."

The two good and religious " masters " did arrive accordingly, accompanied by one Priest ; and they turned out to be " all Irishmen," as was promised.

But the "sacred congregation" had "taken the trouble to ordain" three notorious drunkards. The two masters had not long given "peculiar care to instruct the children in the duties of their holy religion," when they quietly withdrew from Gibraltar, without favouring their employers with notice or information as to the time of their departure, or the road by which they went. And the Priest found it expedient to embark also, covered with infamy, notwithstanding the trouble which the "sacred congregation" had taken to imprint on him at his ordination "the indelible character" of sanctity. In vain had this vagrant Father been exhorted, on his admission to the subdiaconate, "If hitherto thou hast been late at church, henceforth thou shouldest be assiduous. If until now thou hast been sleepy, from this time thou must be wakeful. If thou hast been a drunkard until now, be sober for the future. If thou hast been lewd, for time to come be chaste." * Surely, we have not much to fear from such men as these; nor can the Church, if Church it be, which provides in its formularies for the solemn admission of ungodly, sluggards, drunkards, and whoremongers to its sacred orders, prevail against the church of Christ. Their school continues; and it is to be hoped that the Romanists of Gibraltar will persevere in discharging this part of their duty toward their children, and that God will pour out his Spirit on them soon, in common with all mankind; so that, while their system falls, they may join hands with us, distributing the holy Scriptures, and teaching young and old the way of everlasting life.

Our own schools have multiplied; and at present we have four day and two evening schools well attended, and, we hope, well taught. In these, the current language is Spanish, as it is most generally

* "Form of Ordination of a Subdeacon."

understood and spoken by the native inhabitants. They are also instructed in English, and in other branches of knowledge usually taught in such institutions. The system of religious instruction is purely scriptural. Every day the business of the school is hallowed by prayer. The word of God is read, to the exclusion of every other class reading-book, except the Primer. The Conference Catechisms are learned; and every Lord's day the whole company of children are assembled for the solemnization of divine worship. They are thus trained up under the teaching and preaching of the Gospel of Christ; and it is no longer thought a strange or dangerous thing, to intrust them to the care of a Protestant Minister and masters. On the contrary, we have been favoured with the esteem and confidence of the families with whom our Mission is by this means connected; and no parent, on obtaining admission for his child, objects to the printed Rules which are read and put into his hand, requiring that he shall attend "on Sundays for three hours, to be present at public worship, and to be instructed in the principles of religion," and stating that, "it being the principal object of these establishments to teach the pupils the fear of the Lord, the schools are opened daily with solemn prayer to God," and that "they are not closed on feast-days." Indeed, no concession whatever has been made to popular prejudice, which is of force only as it is allowed. We have deemed it becoming the dignity of the Gospel to claim for it, and practically to render to it, as profound subservience in every arrangement as a Papist could possibly pay to the authority of his own system, which he conceives to be supreme and absolute. If the sanctification of the Sabbath, the reading of the Bible, the communication of revealed truth by teaching and preaching, the offering up of prayer and praise, and other acts of piety, be of divine appointment; even our

adversaries will presume, that while we believe this, we are not at liberty to evade any part of our obligation out of deference to them. And if we were to read the Bible as by stealth, confine ourselves to some inoffensive form of prayer, connive at the absence of children on saint-days, and avoid the use of Protestant forms of worship, and the assemblage of children in Protestant congregations, not only should we lay aside the sword of the Spirit, and disobey many express injunctions of the Saviour, but should confess, tacitly at least, that the claims of the Gospel are not so imperative, nor its sanctions so venerable, as those of the Pope. We and our cause would sink together in the estimation of the world; our own minds would be burdened with misgivings, and oppressed by the painful embarrassments of a false position; and we should toil without assurance, not rightfully expecting God to bless our work. A sentiment in exact accordance with these views was expressed by the chief of the Jews here, a rich, upright, and liberal man. On my applying to him, in common with the other principal inhabitants, for a subscription towards the support of a master, he put the question: "Do you intend to teach religion in your school?" Receiving the reply, he proceeded to say: "Then, Sir, as a Jew, I cannot give money for the teaching of Christianity. If religion were not taught in your school, (as it is not in some others,) I would subscribe; but I should think, at the same time, that you did not fulfil your duty, and should not respect you as a Christian Minister, which I now do, and wish you great success among the Christians."

Religion being taught, the schools are Christian congregations; and from them we hope for in-gathering in future years. Our efforts, however, were by no means limited to the education of youth, but directed to the establishment of a native church. The amount

of success has as yet been small, but quite sufficient to encourage perseverance, in the sure persuasion that the word of God will not return unto him void, but will accomplish that whereunto he sent it. In January, 1833, I translated the Rules of the Methodist Societies into Spanish, printed them, and on the evening of the 24th of the same month held the first Spanish class-meeting. Three men constituted the class. One of these went over to Barbary, and has long been unheard of; another went back into the world; but the third has persevered in his profession without reproach. Nothing could exceed the ignorance of these and other candidates for church membership,—their ignorance of the meaning of the few religious phrases they had learned to use, and the stupid obduracy of their minds. This became most apparent as soon as they were exposed to any trial of integrity; and often has my heart sunk within me at the falling away, in rapid succession, of several, both male and female, who, for a time, seemed to be hopeful. My labours were like those of the sower who cast the seed on the rock and on the highway, as though sin had so thoroughly hardened the hearts of this people by its deceitfulness, and they had become so utterly abandoned to evil habits and associations, that nothing short of a miracle of grace could rescue any of them. Yet now and then there has been a cheering exception; and, amidst all difficulties, a Spanish class has been kept up to the present time, in which a few persons appear to be really converted, and are the basis on which we ground our expectation of great enlargement. The adult congregation has lately much increased, and the number of sincere and attentive hearers has been slowly but steadily advancing.

With regard to class-meeting, it must be observed, with gratitude to God, that chiefly by this means has

a little church been gathered out of the population of Gibraltar, and the nucleus formed of a Christian society which may, ere long, be spread over the neighbouring country. The advantages of this mode of communion commend themselves wherever they are known; and, in every part of the world, the truly-devout members of Christian congregations must rejoice to avail themselves of whatever means tend to the better cultivation of personal piety. But in our case, the close dealing which is peculiar to these meetings, has been the chief stay of the few sincere ones. These meet together at the appointed time and place, and learn to connect public worship with daily conduct. Here the stranger, conducted by the superintending providence of God, witnesses an exercise which has no resemblance among the rites of the prevailing superstition; and if he came among us, as many do, in prospect of some trifling temporal advantage, he finds that an inquiry is instituted into the state of each person's mind and conduct, which he is not prepared to undergo. He not only hears the Minister speak, as he might suppose, professionally, but the members of his flock declaring simply what God had done for their souls, and discoursing, without any selfish expectation, cold formality, or superficial mysticism, on the train of their affections, the tenor of their thoughts, and their ordinary conduct in the world. They see what they never saw before,—the practical and experimental predominating over the imaginative and nominal, in the service of God. The few, few as they are, and belonging to the humblest classes of society, forget the paucity of their number, and the multitude of their adversaries; and as they rally around the same point of union in prayer, praise, and brotherly converse, are joined in a common and delightful bond of brotherly affection. Here, then, is the *punctum saliens* of our half-vitalized society, where

we await, with undivided thoughtfulness and solemn expectation, those mighty influences of God's Holy Spirit, which are to confirm his word, establish our faith, and fortify our hardly-won position against the hosts of hell.

For some time past the evidences of true piety in this little class have been more clear and encouraging than at any former period. They have requested a place in which to hold a weekly prayer-meeting, and assemble in the Mission-house for that purpose, bringing with them members of the Spanish congregation, who, but for this opportunity, would not have access to such a means of grace. With great simplicity they exercise the gift of prayer, and afford an excellent opportunity of observing an intellectual improvement, keeping pace with the gradual deepening of religious feeling, the heart and mind working together, and strengthening each other in the service of our heavenly Master. The presence of God is felt in these assemblies; Christ is indeed in the midst of them, according to his promise; and, surely, he will not withhold the spirit of interceding grace, but dictate and answer their petitions in behalf of the perishing millions of poor, neglected Spain.

CHAPTER II.

New Places of Worship erected on the Gibraltar Station—Liberty of the Press established—Circulation of Books and Tracts, and of the Holy Scriptures—Religious Liberty gains Ground, and Intolerance is successfully resisted—Increase of true Religion in the Army—Duty of Methodists towards their Relatives who are serving in the Army—Jews in Gibraltar and in Barbary—Jacob Cohen—A Presbyterian Church established in Gibraltar.

Towards the end of 1834 we had the satisfaction of opening a new chapel, capable of seating at least five hundred persons, being nearly twice the size of the former building. The congregations ever fluctuate, in consequence of the change of regiments, and the temporary residence of the English generally. But the word of God has been attended with power to many, and a better proportion of civilian inhabitants than formerly are under its influence, which gives an improved character to our little church, as assuming a nearer relation to the population of the place.

In 1841 an entirely new Mission-establishment was effected at the south, by the erection of buildings. These, as well as the chapel just mentioned, were raised by local effort, without any pecuniary assistance from England, with a very trifling exception in the former case. By this undertaking there is secured to the inhabitants of the south of Gibraltar, a great part of whom are English, or highly Anglicised, and where half the garrison is quartered, a place of Protestant worship, of which they had ever been destitute, as our little congregation, the only one there, was assembled in a private room, exposed to many inconveniencies, and only known to the few who frequented it. There is also a spacious and airy school-room, master's dwell-

ing, &c. The congregation is good; and, the schoolmaster and mistress there being Missionary labourers, we hope for great eventual success.

An important change has been effected as regards the press. It has always been deemed necessary to exercise a strict censorship, in order to prevent the publication of offensive personalities, or articles of political controversy in the daily paper, a proof of which, containing only an abstract of the most interesting news made by the editor, with extracts from newspapers, and occasional advertisements, is daily submitted to the Governor's civil Secretary for his approbation. No religious publication had ever come to light from this the only press in Gibraltar;* and there was an express order that nothing of the kind should be printed. Even the Roman Catholics, although the original occupants of the town, and constituting its chief population, were excluded from the use of it as a vehicle of religious opinion, and their works were therefore printed in Spain. Objections were made to print any thing of the kind for me; but those objections were overruled or set aside, until a better custom was induced; and experience has shown clearly that no mischief whatever results from allowing to all parties the labours of the compositors. The following books, tracts, &c., have been printed here, all in the Spanish language:—

In 1833, Rules of the Methodist Societies.

Prospectus of Lectures on Popery, *printed with the Lieutenant-Governor's official sanction.*

In 1836, First Conference Catechism.

In 1837, Second Conference Catechism.

Supplement to a Collection of Hymns, which was printed in Cadiz in 1835.

Lessons of English Grammar for Spaniards. 12mo. pp. 22.

* Another has been recently established.

In 1838, Bogue's Essay on the New Testament. Spanish. 8vo. pp. viii, 272.

In 1839, Apology for the Methodist Protestant Church. Spanish. 8vo. pp. 19.

Nevins's Thoughts on Popery. Spanish. 8vo. pp. iv, 199.

Rules of Arithmetic, and Collection of Examples. 12mo. pp. 49. For Spanish Schools.

Gurney's Observations on the Sabbath. Spanish. 8vo. pp. iv, 70.

Statement of the Methodist Missions, for the use of Missionary Collectors among the Spanish population.

In 1840, Horne's Romanism contrary to Holy Scripture. Spanish. 8vo. pp. 62.

Letter on religious Toleration, and Abuses of Rome. Spanish. 8vo. pp. 4.

In 1841, Refutation of a Calumny invented against the Methodists. 8vo. pp. 4.

The Four Gospels Translated from Greek into Spanish, with Notes. Spanish. 4to. pp. 632.

In 1842, Andrew Dunn. Spanish. 8vo. pp. 49.

Spanish Hymn-Book. 24mo. pp. viii, 120.

Christianity Restored. Spanish. 8vo. pp. iv, 127.

Besides school-rules, &c., from time to time.

With the exception of Bogue's Essay, which is a reprint revised, and the Letter on Toleration, which was written by a Spaniard, the above were all translated or written by myself; and for defraying the expense of Bogue, Nevins, Gurney, Horne, and Dunn, the Spaniards are indebted to the characteristic liberality of the American Religious Tract Society. Many thousands of the smaller works, in addition to many more thousands of tracts, chiefly from the English Religious Tract Society, have been circulated gratuitously in Spain; and we have good reason to believe, that by them a powerful effect has been wrought in favour of the truth, much knowledge imparted, misap-

prehension removed, and prejudice subdued. Applications for these books have been, and still are, very frequent, both by inhabitants of Gibraltar and strangers of all classes from Spain. They are dispersed along the coasts, and in many of the chief towns of the interior, Madrid included, the Balearic isles, and the Spanish and French settlements in Africa. We are angrily charged with having sent "sackfuls" into the neighbouring towns. They have not been sent in sacks; but sacks might be filled with those sent, and we hope to send more sackfuls yet; so that our neighbours begin to be well-informed as to "the sect every where spoken against."

Mercantile people, visiting Gibraltar, call in to talk with the Missionary, in order to satisfy their curiosity as to our usages and doctrines, or to hear sermons. Into their hands are given books and tracts; and in this way persons of high rank and extensive influence have often become the circulators. The holy Scriptures are not forgotten in these distributions; but I am now describing the operations which are peculiar to Gibraltar, rather than those which, with greater success, and on a more extensive scale, have been conducted by agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Some few years ago (I forget the exact time) I canvassed the whole town, in order to ascertain who of the humbler classes had copies of the holy Scriptures, and who had not. Many families were supplied; *a very few* declined accepting them; but the remainder were furnished with Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese Testaments, by the liberality of that Society. A pleasing illustration of the good effect of education was then afforded. Not a few of the elder members of families received my visit with a scowl or in silence; but, without one exception, the *young men*, many of whom had been taught to read by the bounty of Protestants, were perfectly familiar with the mention of the Bible, manifested

a great desire to possess it, and expressed their thankfulness with a freedom and cheerfulness that was most encouraging. Ever may the Bible Society retain its catholicity; and may the day soon come when *all* Protestant Missionaries shall be numbered among its servants!

Religious liberty has made good advance there in respect to other concerns as well as printing. The old sectarian spirit, which had pervaded the local government, still showed itself on many occasions; and, of course, it became a duty to resist by all right and Christian-like methods. Our chapel was classed among private houses, and taxed as such, it being a sort of general understanding among the vulgar that Methodists were not even Protestants, because not Anglicans. Nay, some of their superiors said that Wesleyan Ministers had no authority, and that their worship ought not to be recognised. My predecessors had remonstrated to the local Commissioners against the taxation; but these were not the persons to give ear to such appeals. I applied beyond them to the Secretary for the Colonies, and a favourable answer was returned; but it lay dormant in the office to which it was forwarded. In short, the *principle* involved in the question was evaded, and nothing remained but to refuse submission to any imposition, from which the Synagogue and the Mass-house were exempt; and the odious tax being no longer recoverable, except by violence, it was at length withdrawn; and I must add, in justice, that it is not likely to be again demanded.

In the army, too, there was a momentary but ineffectual revival of the old spirit, and an aggression was made on us too bad to be borne with. A Major, temporarily commanding one of the regiments, in November, 1839, chose to harangue his men on the subject of religion,—a subject of which, among many others,

he understood the least; and, by way of neutralizing in his regiment the good effect of a General Order, which allowed every soldier perfect liberty to attend his own place of worship, he threatened the few Methodists in it with *forfeiture of his confidence* if they went to such a place as a Methodist chapel. He amplified his furious, although unprovoked, tirade with certain common-places about deserting the Church of England, in a style which seemed to indicate the meddling of some clerical instigator, unmindful of a scrap which might have been opportunely remembered, for it has been cited often enough in our day:—

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

Nay, to give weight to his arguments, he actually put two of the members under arrest, on charge of dishonesty, for professing to be Anglicans and Methodists at the same time;—a profession too false for honest men, as they are, to make. On hearing of their arrest, I went forthwith to the barracks, where I found them in durance; and the case of one being peculiarly hard, I forwarded a complaint on his behalf to the Governor. His Excellency, looking on the matter with a soldier's eye, refused to allow my interference in a military affair. The Major kept the men in confinement his own time, and on releasing them, *reduced* one and deprived the other of the situation of Chaplain's clerk, which had been given to him in consideration of his good conduct, so that there was no dishonesty in his accepting it. I sent a statement of the proceeding to the late Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and so also did the Governor on behalf of the Major; but the answer returned by command of his Lordship was explicit, and did him honour. He declared "the intent and meaning" of the General Order above referred-to to be, "not only that every soldier should

be at full liberty to attend to the worship of Almighty God according to the form prescribed by his own religion, especially expressed in that Order, but carefully abstaining, in conformity with its spirit and letter, from any measure that might, even in appearance, have a tendency to violate the rights of conscience, so long as the conduct of the soldier was in strict accordance with the preservation of good order and military discipline."

The persecuted Corporal, although quite satisfied with the service, became so unhappy in that regiment, that he purchased his discharge, as the best men in the army would be the first to do if persecuted for conscience' sake by those intrusted with command. Happily for our country, such persecutions are rare; and, after sufficient opportunity for observation in that garrison, it is with the most sincere pleasure that I can testify to the gentleman-like and honourable conduct of the senior officers, and others in authority, with few exceptions; to the general urbanity and benevolence of the Governor just mentioned, notwithstanding his apparent forgetfulness at the moment; and to the loyalty and zeal of those soldiers, &c., who have been under my pastoral charge.

The question as to the lawfulness of the military profession has never been admitted to discussion among us. Such discussion could not but be injurious in a garrison, however proper and even useful elsewhere. To preach and teach the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, and thereby to subdue the turbulent and licentious passions of men, is, in effect, to quench the brands of war. This can be done in the army or navy as well as among the agricultural or manufacturing classes of the population; and the military officer, as well as the country gentleman, can be converted by the same means, and enjoy as clear evidence of the pardoning love of God. It must not be concealed, that the

restrictions of military life often operate unfavourably to the developement of piety, and a fear of infringing some rule or usage of the service prevents many from stepping beyond the circle within which they are, or think they are, confined. But there is an obvious advance of religion among all ranks; and as the number of Christians increases, and works of piety become more general, good men will ascertain new methods of usefulness, and a more complete demonstration will be afforded that true religion is compatible with the system of military discipline; not, indeed, as it may be now and then overstretched and abused by individuals, but as it is sanctioned by the country.

In relation to Gibraltar and the army, a subject of primary importance has engaged my attention, and I cannot refrain from offering it to the attention of those whom it concerns. By the General Order of July, 1839, above referred to, every soldier is left at liberty to choose his own place of worship; and we have seen that this liberty is not by any means to be infringed. But every man must attend somewhere; and all who are not "on duty," are "paraded" once every Sunday for divine service. By this admirable arrangement the spirit of religious liberty, which constitutes the chief part of the happiness and glory of our country, is transfused into the ranks of her defenders; and on the Lord's day it is delightful to see the men marched without arms to their respective places of worship, with a punctuality and order not to be surpassed. The chief part of an English regiment will usually attend the English Episcopal church, where a Chaplain of that denomination officiates. The majority of a Scotch regiment is marched to where the Presbyterian Minister conducts worship according to their form; and of some Irish regiments, the greater number go to mass. A few of each regiment, generally speaking, resort to the Methodist chapel; and

if there were a chapel here of any other Protestant denomination, some would probably go thither also. But let us inquire what use is made of our privilege in the army at large? This question has been suggested by facts. Perhaps in every regiment there are young men whose parents are Methodists. Here and there one may be found living under the restraining influences of a religious education and example, and followed by blessings obtained for him by the prayers of parents and brethren at home; yet the greater part of them are in conflict with conscience, or abandoned to recklessness and vice. Sometimes they relate their early history, and show their comrades letters sent to them from home, filled with entreaties to turn from the error of their way. Have not these a claim on our care? Most certainly they have. They were born in the bosom of Methodism; many of them were doubtless admitted by baptism into the visible church of Christ by our Ministers, and were taught in our schools. Their parents must surely expect us to look after these, their children and ours; and doubtless God requires us to do so. For if not, who shall care for their souls? None so rightfully as we. They never formed a part of any other flock, and therefore could not justly assume another denomination while in their present state. The objection that they are living in gross sin, and therefore ought not to be classed as Methodists, is of no force. Methodism is not a mere voluntary society. So is Socialism, and such are Freemasons and Odd Fellows. *We are a church*, and cannot be exonerated from the responsibilities inherent to the relation between the Pastor and the flock. When the children of our people are presented to the Lord at the baptismal font, solemnly presented to the congregation, as "admitted," to use the unobjectionable language of our own authorized ritual, "into the body of the church;" when thanksgiving is made "for

this benefit," with prayer that the "child may lead the rest of his life to the glory of God;" when the names of these children are, in conjunction with the administration of the sacrament, archived, not by a civil, but by an ecclesiastical and solemn, registration, by which the resident Ministers may also know who and where the youth are which especially constitute the body of catechumens,—it is not, it cannot be, with the reserved understanding, that if they grow up to be religious, and turn out well, they shall meet in class, and be owned by us in our stated visitations; but that if not, they may go adrift upon the world. True, the irreligious are not members of our societies, neither are babes; but if we undertake, "by our office and ministry," to dedicate infants to God, we further engage to care for their souls, not as members of our societies, which as yet they cannot be, but as an integral portion of our church. We are their Pastors. If our call to the ministry be of God, as we trust and individually believe it is, the Holy Ghost has made us overseers over them; and if they enlist themselves advisedly or unadvisedly in the public service, that circumstance, so far from placing them beyond the limit to which our obligations extend, calls rather for our increased vigilance. It is our duty to seek them out, and a *necessity* is then laid upon us to make them the objects of peculiar solicitude; and in doing this, we can always engage the co-operation of the Class-Leaders and others, that invaluable body of lay-brethren by whose aid Methodism can penetrate into the recesses of society at large. Acting, of course, on the conviction that this is our common duty, I visited the barracks, and found many of this class; and, in addition to them, very many others, children of Dissenters, whose case, in the absence of their proper Pastors, also claimed our regard; the whole amounting to so large a number as to excite surprise. Of these, several hailed my visit

with thankfulness, returned themselves for the Methodist chapel forthwith; and some of them have since found it to be "the house of God and the gate of heaven." The same plan can be adopted wherever there is a regiment or a detachment on duty.

Before inviting the reader from Gibraltar to Spain proper, a few words may be said of the Jews, who form a considerable proportion of the varied population of the Rock. They are attracted thither by the facilities to be enjoyed for petty trading at that notorious resort of smugglers; and the liberty allowed them as a people places Gibraltar high in their estimation, as contrasted with Spain, where, until lately, they could only exist under a disguise, and where, even now, when their claim would have a hearing, if they would but urge it, their zeal has not raised as much as one synagogue. And they cannot but prefer Gibraltar to Barbary, where they are subject to the cruel vexations of an extremely despotic government. No continued line of operation has ever been conducted with a view to their conversion, notwithstanding their great number, (nearly two thousand,) and the constant communication which is kept up between them and the many thousands of their nation in northern Africa, extending from the point in sight of Gibraltar, eastward and westward, along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. One or two incidents may be mentioned in illustration of their temper towards Christianity. Shortly after my arrival, I went a few times to witness their worship, at the principal of their four synagogues, and to observe whether any opportunity might be found for opening profitable correspondence. At one of their most solemn festival services, I had been furnished with a Hebrew Prayer-book, and had not scrupled to raise my voice with theirs in reciting the appointed Psalms, and even the "Thirteen Articles," or Creed,

excepting the clauses which are opposed to Christianity:—"There never arose a Prophet in Israel like unto Moses, who beheld his similitude. He will never alter nor change his religious constitution for any other. In the last days he will send our Messiah to redeem those who wait for the accomplishment of his salvation." *(Eve of the Sabbath.)* This exception was remarked, and led to a lengthy conversation with some of the more curious members of the synagogue, who requested that I would appoint a time and place for a formal interview with one of their "wise men." The next evening, and that place, were determined upon; and I returned, according to engagement, not without hope that a blessing might attend my feeble endeavour to plead for Christ; and that hope was rekindled on entering the synagogue. The congregation was very numerous; and their chief people appeared to have mustered strong. There sate their ancient Judge (דין)—a venerable old Barbary Jew, nearly a hundred years of age, clad in his oriental costume; and arranged in order after him on parallel benches, were the elder and chief people of his nation. These rose simultaneously as I entered, and one of them, taking me by the hand, introduced me to the old man as a person (חכם *sapiens*) most worthy of his consideration. They entertained me by singing Hebrew hymns until the commencement of the regular service, in which I was invited to join in recitation; but at the close they all took their feet, and, with well-concerted gravity, walked out one by one and left me to look around the empty place, until two figures made their appearance; that of an old woman, extinguishing the lamps, and that of the person with whom the appointment had been made, who came to apologize for the non-appearance of their "wise man," who desired to be excused from such a conference, as he had not studied Christianity. Not a few Jews who had

fancied me to be an admirer of their nation, and were therefore very sociable, knew me no more from that time; and subsequently, when it was known that I was giving away some unsold and shelf-worn stock from the Bible Society's depository, hundreds of Jews came to the Mission-house, giving me no rest for two or three days successively, and received Hebrew Testaments with great apparent thankfulness; but after the rush had ceased, and we thought that an old unsaleable stock of the London Society's Testaments had got into use, they subjected them to a general demolition, not only in private, but in public; for many were torn to pieces in the streets.

But even here there is a bright side. In June, 1835, I went over to Tanjier, to look after two Spaniards, who had professed to be Protestants, and seemed, truly as I hope, to have felt the hallowing influence of our religion. On the first evening of my visit, I was met in their house by five Jews and two Jewesses, to whom I expounded Psalm lxvii. They knelt down with us as I offered prayer in the name of Jesus Christ. Their eyes glistened with pleasure as I endeavoured to describe the liberty in which Christ makes us free, assured them of our love to their nation, and exhorted them to search in the law and the Prophets, and to examine whether the things which I had told them were true. On the next evening I expounded 1 Cor. xiii. to a crowded company of Jews and Jewesses, heard with joy and surprise their assent to almost all I said, and had the happiness of bringing them all on their knees before the mercy-seat of Christ. I had many interesting conversations with those Jews, whom I left with deep regret, and some of them afterwards expressed their grateful recollection of the visit by sending over some little presents. The fact is, that they are treated by the Moors with such utter contempt, that any mani-

festation of regard or kindness carried with it a resistless weight. This might be well kept in mind by those who labour for the conversion of the Jews; and, even presuming that the interference of the Rabbis would very soon raise a check to the proceedings of a Christian Missionary in Tanjier, I cannot but think that if *a married man* were stationed there, he might be made very useful. He would have access to the few Christians who reside there, and also to the Jews. The many renegadoes from Christianity to Mohammedanism, who are congregated there from Spain and the Spanish penal settlements on the coast, and who are said to constitute no small part of the inhabitants of that and other places in the vicinity, might, indirectly, be benefited by his labours. There should always be a Jewish Missionary in Gibraltar, who, besides working there, might actively correspond and travel in Barbary. But, as yet, nothing is done for them.

Another interesting contrast to the general antipathy of this people was exhibited in a young man, named Jacob Cohen, who made my acquaintance early in the year 1833. For several months his visits were almost daily, and often continued for two or three hours. We read in the Hebrew Bible, and compared with the New Testament. He was well versed in the learning peculiar to his nation, spoke with fluency, and perhaps with equal correctness, (allowing for the Jewish style,) English, Spanish, Moorish Arabic, and Rabbinical Hebrew. He rejected the Talmud, although born and reared among Rabbanists, and heartily despised their superstition and bigotry. He was any thing but a sceptic, revered the sacred writings and institutions of pure Hebrew antiquity, had a fine perception of right principle, and a tender conscience. His mother was an English Jewess, kind to her son; and his father a Barbary Jew, austere and bigoted. He would con-

tend with great earnestness for whatever he could find a shadow of honest argument to defend in Judaism; but would readily give up what he saw to be untenable. For some time he attended punctually the service on Sunday evenings; but, being a favourite disciple of Rabbi Israel Ben Saya, the old Judge above mentioned, he related to him one day, that the evening before he had heard a citation from Rabí Saadiah Haggaón, relative to the Messiah, delivered from the pulpit. This drew forth an angry exclamation: "I see that you will soon become a Christian Preacher." Reproof and prohibition followed; so that from that time he durst not appear in our congregation. But he studied at home, and continued his private conferences. Not daring to be seen with a book known to contain the New Testament, he was furnished with a copy of the old Syriac version, the characters of which were not intelligible to any of his relatives; and, as he well understood Chaldee, he could enter into its spirit, and I believe he did most diligently study its contents, with fixed and even devout attention. He confessed his admiration of these Scriptures, and did not conceal his willingness, nay, he allowed me to perceive his desire, to be fully established in a hearty belief of Christianity. He sat up parts of several nights to copy passages of the חזוק אמונה—"Confirmation of the Faith," one of the principal Jewish works written against Christianity, in order that the objections to the New Testament which are contained in it might be met to his satisfaction.

He freely communicated whatever conversation might call forth relative to Jewish customs, opinions, and superstitions, especially in Barbary. The superstitious practices of the Barbary Jews appear to be excessive; and had notes of his information been preserved, it might have been in my power to give interesting and even novel notices of that part of the dispersion.

However, here is one, illustrative of the worshipping of angels, spoken of by St. Paul, (Col. ii. 18,) and mentioned by some ancient historians. It is not, I presume, cited by any commentator on that passage, and may therefore be interesting: it is contained in the following verses, which he wrote on a scrap of paper when speaking on the subject:—

מימינינו גבראל
ומשמאלנו מכאל
ועל ראשנו מכנת אל
כל היום וכל הלילה

תברוך הבית הזה
מרי נביא ונם חווה
כי כן ציוב אלהינו זד
כל היום וכל הלילה

תן לנו שבוע טוב
רענן וגם הטוב
ומה" יבא לנו הטוב
כל היום וכל הלילה

"On our right hand Gabriel,
And on our left Michael,
May God's confirmation be over our head,
All the day and all the night.

"May this house be blessed,
O my Lord Prophet (Moses) and Seer too,
For thus the brightness of our God is here,
All the day and all the night.

"Give us sevenfold good,
Flourishing and good beside.
And from H(im) may good come to us,
All the day and all the night."

The ternary arrangement and alliteration of these verses gives them the character of a charm; and as

such they are used, being repeated by the more devout on entering a house, as in Popish countries the words, "Hail, Mary," &c., are uttered, or in our own country children have been taught to invoke the Apostles at bed-time :—

> "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on :
> Four corners to my bed,
> Four angels guard my head," &c.

So perfect is the identity of the spirit of idolatry under a great variety of place and language!

It is highly probable that my young friend would have made an open profession of the Christian faith, on following the impressions and rising convictions of his mind; but his persevering attachment to me, in despite of the suspicions of his people, induced the chief of the synagogue to which he belonged to contrive that he should be removed to Lisbon, whither he went in the early part of 1834, to be attached to a Jewish commercial house, with every prospect of temporal advancement. But his mind continued to obey the impulse it had received, and, in an active correspondence, we kept up the discussion of those subjects which had engaged us in oral conference; and his letters, sometimes written in Spanish, and sometimes in Hebrew, abounded in pleasing sentiment, and indicated the same powerful and conscientious attachment to the religion of his fathers, with such an earnest desire for superior instruction, as could not but heighten my interest in perusing them, and admiration of his integrity. A fac-simile of one of his shorter letters will serve as a specimen of the Rabbinical character used in that part of the world; and a transcript in the common Chaldee character, with translation into English, will give some idea of the epistolary style, to those

who have not gone beyond Biblical Hebrew. (See Appendix, No. IV.) He was constituted Minister (חזן) of the synagogue in Lisbon; but his correspondence suddenly ceased; and, to my great sorrow, intelligence reached us that he had died, it was said, of a sore throat. May he not, even in his last hour, have yielded obedience to that word, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved?"

The fact that a well-instructed Jew, and he unsought, should have persevered for about two years in inquiring after doctrinal truth, and manifested so hopeful a state of mind, may be taken as an earnest of the abundant and mature fruit to be gathered in that part of the vineyard of Israel, when Christian Ministers shall toil in the work of their conversion with undivided energy. For it is not possible for a Missionary or Chaplain to any section of the Christian population to throw himself so fully into the peculiar studies and time-consuming labours incident to a Mission to the Jews, as to warrant the expectation of success. To which consideration may be added, that the neighbourhood of another truly pious agent of any of our evangelical Societies would be most agreeable and profitable to those who are already established at Gibraltar, and the benefit would be reciprocated. Returned from wearisome journeying by land and water, he would often find himself within a circle of Christian friends, who would gladly exchange with him the privileges of spiritual communion; and this the more freely, if he were not laid under any exclusive restrictions, but able to mingle his more public ministrations with those of brethren of another name. Perhaps a messenger might be sent hither from the Scottish Church, since on this section of the church catholic a large share of duty towards the descendants of Abraham appears to have devolved.

And, in connexion with this suggestion, I may be

allowed the pleasure of stating, that in December, 1839, I had the satisfaction to open our chapel to a Presbyterian congregation, then collected therein by my esteemed brother, the Rev. W. Strauchon, and latterly our other place of worship also; and that a branch of the Church of Scotland is now established in the garrison. May it please God to shed his Holy Spirit on their assemblies, and unite all Christians every where in the happy bond of a more fervent charity.

CHAPTER III.

1831–32. Reaction of liberal Principles in Spain—Burial-grounds for deceased Protestants permitted, but under an oppressive Restriction—1833. Return of Emigrants—Retreat of Don Carlos—Oath of Allegiance taken to Isabella, the Infant Heiress to the Crown—Suspicious Conduct of the Clergy—Death of Ferdinand VII.—He leaves his Widow Christina Queen-Regent—Insufficiency of political Projects of Reform—1834. Correspondence with Spanish Booksellers—Ecclesiastical Reformation resumed—Ecclesiastical Commission—Quarrel with the Court of Rome—Fall of Monasticism—Civil War—Protestantism publicly commended—Inquisition, &c., finally abolished.

We now return to the wider field, and mark the decisive indications of the fall of Romanism, and the advances of our earliest operations in Spain. About the time at which the second part of this Memoir commences, a reaction of liberal principles was both evidenced and favoured by a succession of amnesties granted to the multitudes of emigrants who had fled into other countries to avoid the relentless persecution which was waged against all who had sustained any public character during the second constitutional period of 1820 to 1823. I shall not digress to offer any opinion respecting the events and persons of that time, but only avow the conviction which must be common to all attentive observers, that the whole was overruled by God for the annihilation of a system with which a peaceable profession of Christian faith could not possibly consist. Liberals and Absolutists may have been equally destitute of truly Christian motives, while the tendencies of their actions were opposite,—to the ruin or to the restoration of their country; and it ought to

be noted, in justice to the Liberals of 1832, that one of the means for the welfare of Spain, on which they appeared to calculate with the greatest confidence, was the general diffusion of knowledge; and that it was then when the gratuitous instruction of the poor began in earnest in the chief towns of Spain. Ferdinand took no part in the salutary movement. He was languishing in a state of premature senility, had lost his cause as a despot, and gave the sanction of his royal name to projects for the benefit of his vassals, precisely the reverse of all that he had done when capable of acting for himself.

The fruit of labours on behalf of our countrymen in Spain now began to be gathered, by the removal of one of those marks of degradation with which they had been branded. Our Consul at Malaga had seen, with grief and indignation, the bodies of Englishmen buried in the sand on the sea-shore, and that in the filthiest situations, and exposed to treatment most revolting. And even in this wretched manner they were deposited as by stealth, and at night. The body of his predecessor, the representative of Great Britain, be it remembered, in that city, was conveyed away (I believe, at night) to a garden in the country, and there interred, not with those demonstrations of respect which the highest authorities of the province were bound to render to his office, but with all the tokens of regard which his relatives and his successor could dare to pay amidst the humiliation and sorrow attendant on such a scene. Perhaps none felt more alive than the Consul, Mr. Mark, to the humiliating position in which those were placed who claimed his official protection in that district; and he resolved to attempt a remedy, and not to cease from protesting against the insufferable wrong until it should be removed. His leading principle of conduct is expressed with characteristic frankness in a letter to me,

from which, by his permission, I give the following extract :—

"I think you are aware, that I constantly evinced a strong desire that the toleration of all religions, and a general liberty of conscience, should be established in Spain ; looking, as I did, politically, to a more comfortable position for my countrymen established there, and morally, to a general diffusion of the Gospel, which could not fail to work out the benefits which it is so well calculated to produce.

"I remember, when you visited Malaga, on your way to Granada, that I explained to you my great desire to see my countrymen better off than they were ; although I had, by dint of great labour and perseverance, accomplished many minor points in their favour ; among them, that of burying their dead bodies more in conformity with our ideas of such proceedings. But this was nothing to the comforts of religious freedom, although I considered it an outwork in advance to what was yet to be done. I accomplished that, however, after years of great anxiety and perseverance against appalling difficulties, which would have made many a heart quail. The prize was worth the effort, however ; for when I had established my cemetery, *the first legally authorized in Spain*, the public opinion became reconciled to our decent mode of interment ; and they began to think that they had been misinformed, or were entirely ignorant of the religious principles and moral habits of Englishmen. The decent and imposing sight of a Consul attending the dead body of a countryman to the grave, and there, in the presence of thousands of persons, performing the funeral service, the last rite for departed man, could not fail to make an impression. The impression was made. Every one, on hearing of an English funeral, came to witness for himself what it really was ; and, seeing the advantage likely to accrue

from this impression among the multitude, who were now rather allowed, by favourable political changes, to judge somewhat for themselves, I lost no opportunity of strengthening such feeling, by explaining a few other matters, equally consistent with morality and decorum."

Yet the legal concession, published December 31st, 1831, was as dishonourable to the giver, as it is honourable to him who laboured for seven years to gain it. Here it follows :—

"ROYAL ORDER, PERMITTING THE ENGLISH TO ESTABLISH CEMETERIES.

"HAVING laid before the King our Lord an appeal (*reclamacion*) from the British Representative, praying for a piece of ground in Coruña, for a cemetery for the subjects of his nation; also that others be pointed out in all the places where British Consuls reside; and that he be informed of the pleasure of His Majesty as respects the enclosing of that which his Government has purchased in this Court (Madrid) for the same purpose: His Majesty has been pleased to resolve, conforming to the opinion of his Council of Ministers, that there is no objection to granting the said pieces of ground, if the English can get them from individuals, (*pudiendolos adquirir los Ingleses de los particulares,*) and enclose them, provided that the prescribed formalities be observed; to wit: that they be surrounded by a plain wall, without church, chapel, or any other mark of temple, or public or private worship; and that, under the same condition, they may make use of the ground which they have bought in this Court; placing themselves, above all, in agreement with the local authorities, to whom shall be communicated the necessary cautions. (*Se deberán hacer las prevenciones oportunas.*)

"By royal order, &c.

"MANUEL GONZALEZ SALMONE.

"*Madrid, Nov. 13th,* 1831."

This was the utmost that could be obtained at that time. The English in general, deteriorated by their situation, made no use of the scanty grant for some years; but Mr. Mark went beyond it, by the solemnity and publicity of his proceedings, on the mournful occasions when he officiated at the beautiful cemetery, enclosed, under his direction, in the neighbourhood of Malaga, the first Protestant burial-place in Spain. But as, by virtue of the "Royal Order," even the solemnization of the funeral service, which is more than a *sign*, being an *act*, of public worship, might be prohibited or stopped, and the officiating Minister arrested and prosecuted for breach of law, British Consuls and British subjects resident there ought to move our Government not to appeal, but to *demand*, in pursuance of unquestionable right, that the odious restriction of 1831 should be cancelled, and the suspicious and dangerous hint, as to "opportune precautions," for whomsoever intended, which set the local authorities on the look-out, to act on their discretion, at every occurrence of a Protestant funeral, should be exchanged for an injunction on those persons to afford us public and efficient protection, equal to that which Spaniards rightfully enjoy in England, and leaving us free to bury our dead, unembarrassed by any such humiliating and oppressive condition (even although not enforced) as that the bereaved husband or father must not offer up to God any sort of public, nay, nor private, worship at the grave of the departed.

In the year 1833 there was a yet stronger reaction; and the important events which then took place furnished matter of various description, and conflicting comment, to opposite classes of political writers. To us it is interesting to observe the attention of the Government, yet more closely addressed to the promotion of education among all classes of the people. Under an amnesty of the preceding year, many emi-

grants had returned; and a large amount of salutary influence necessarily flowed in through this medium.

Don Carlos, the King's brother, would have succeeded to the Crown, and, as far as in him lay, would have perpetuated civil and spiritual slavery, and would have had the support of the entire body of the priesthood, upholding their altar and his throne. But in his haste to assure himself of the succession, it is said that he was betrayed into some suspicious and unseemly proceedings. On the other hand, through the influence of the liberal party, then daily increasing in power, the ancient law, allowing females to succeed to the sovereignty, was revived, which effectually excluded him, and placed in his stead Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand, then an infant, and now the second of her name. It was happy for Spain that in this way the line of despots was broken, and the administration of government fell almost entirely into the hands of men who, with all their faults, contributed largely to the reform of the whole social system. Again: the national and ecclesiastical interests were espoused by two great parties in open hostility to each other. Don Carlos retired with reluctance into Portugal; and the infant Isabella was presented to the grandees and chief personages of the kingdom, to receive their sworn allegiance. The Archbishop of Toledo, first in dignity over the Church of Spain, declined attending to administer the oath, pretending to be sick; but the Patriarch of the Indies took his place. Certain "Prelates, grandees, and titles," although in Madrid at the moment, did not take the oath. Carlos formally protested against the right of Isabella; and a combined war of succession and religion burst forth in the Peninsula immediately on the death of the King.

This event took place on September 29th, and was coldly mourned by a people who, at heart, were glad to be delivered from his dominion, enfeebled though it

was, and the infant Queen was immediately proclaimed.

The death of Ferdinand was in perfect keeping with his conduct through life. No expression of true piety or of genuine patriotism redeemed his reputation. But he was careful to make some eleemosynary bequests, and to provide for the celebration of twenty thousand masses for his soul, and the souls of his deceased wives, the fees for which were to be distributed among his favourites, the Mendicant Friars. His body was exhibited in state, and then buried in the Royal Monastery of the Escŏrial, with the usual ceremonies. His young widow, Christina, and her Ministers, could not but tremble, when surveying the prospect which lay before them, and were profuse in their professions of adherence to the principles of an almost absolute monarchy, and of an attachment to the Church, which certainly *they* did not feel, however *she* might, if indeed she were susceptible of such attachment. But all this was insufficient to conciliate Carlos and his Priests, who were again to try whether consecrated banners and the war-cry of faith would excite the masses of the people to rebel against their Sovereign, and sacrifice their lives, in a sort of martyrdom for the Church; and multitudes were found blind and besotted enough to enlist their fortunes and their lives in the desperate cause. But incomparably greater multitudes were of another mind; and foreign influence and funds were necessary to keep up the excitement and maintain the war. We hope that this was the last conflict of the kind that Spain will ever see, and rejoice that the weakness of Romanism, as a secular Establishment, was demonstrated by the failure of that crusade. As for Christina herself, if she had any religious feeling, which is questionable, it may have been that of a bigot, and may have given occasion to some parts of her conduct subsequently.

Her advisers deemed it necessary to make a wordy display of veneration towards the ancient superstition; and in a manifesto which she published on her accession to the regency by virtue of her husband's will, she expressed herself as determined to allow of no innovation or change in the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, which always had been, and ever should be, the religion of the Spaniards. A determination, by the way, which would have been most unseasonably expressed, if doctrines contrary to that religion, and even adverse to its permanence in the state, had not already taken deep root in the minds of a portion of the people.

Some beautiful projects of reform were penned at that time. Every branch of public administration was to be reformed by virtue of decrees; but the body politic was too thoroughly corrupt to be renovated by the schemers; and, wisely as those papers were written, the fallacy in principle on which the plans were constructed left them without foundation, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to employ time in transcribing even a line of them. It was then evident, as it is now, that Spain cannot reform herself, if by reform we understand an amelioration of the moral condition. Not the financier, nor the publicist, nor the schoolmaster,—nothing short of the Gospel of Christ, faithfully and powerfully proclaimed throughout the land, can save Spain, and make a dead people live. She must be elevated, moralized, and set free by genuine Christianity. She must receive her portion with those nations which are to be the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, or it is to be apprehended that she will lose her name and place among them.

As the way seemed to be opening for more direct labours in the country, my first endeavour was to establish correspondence with individuals. In the summer of 1834 I wrote to booksellers in thirty-five of the chief

towns, inviting them to receive copies of the Bible for sale on commission, on account of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Several of them returned favourable answers; but the execution of the project was found to be far more difficult than could have been imagined. The Bible was a prohibited book, printed, as it is, without notes approved by "the Church;" and, indeed, all books printed in Spanish, out of Spain, are prohibited. Every parcel would have to be examined when landed at a sea-port, and, even after having been introduced there, at the gate of the town to which it should be sent. Some of my correspondents recommended me to adopt the usual plan of sending the books with false title-pages, and so reporting them that they should not be brought under prohibitory regulations; but this pious fraud could not be practised. I, therefore, could only get a few copies into Cadiz, Granada, and Madrid, although they might otherwise have been circulated all over the kingdom. Other labourers, taking up their abode in Spain for a time, have since been very successful, and their instrumentality has contributed largely towards breaking down the barrier of prejudice against the reading of the holy Scriptures in the vernacular language, without note or comment. My humble attempt, however, was not made in vain, as it opened the way to correspondence and connexions; and, this point gained, I solicited permission of the Missionary Committee to make a visit of inquiry. Their sanction was given; but before relating the incidents of that journey, there are to be noticed some important movements then made preparatory to church reformation.

The management of charitable institutions, especially of public schools, had been in the hands of the Clergy and nobility. With regard to charitable institutions in general, it was decreed that the election for membership of boards, or managing Committees, should

not fall exclusively on nobles and ecclesiastics, but on those, "of whatever class or rank, who should be known to possess a knowledge of economical science, and to be endowed with zeal for the welfare of their fellow-creatures."

As soon as ever Priests or Friars declared for the Pretender, Don Carlos, or took any active part in the rebellion, they were regarded and dealt with as rebels, and their temporalities confiscated. The inmates of several convents, severally or in mass, deserted to the ranks of the enemy, assumed the military habit, and fought as soldiers, leaving their convents and the property attached to them in the power of the Queen. The royal prerogative, although much higher than in constitutional countries, was then well employed, or, by the advisers of the crown, was brought to bear in repressing the turbulence of the Clergy of both classes and of all orders; and the general Cortes were assembled by the same authority. It only falls within our present design to relate those acts of that assembly which tended to improve the position of the Spaniards in matters of religion. The chief of these was the establishment of an Ecclesiastical Commission, empowered to examine into the state of all the diocesses throughout the kingdoms, and directed to suggest measures of reform. The prime importance of this appointment lay in the principle therein assumed by the Legislature, that the civil power, not the Court of Rome, should take cognizance of the conduct, and regulate the maintenance, &c., of the Clergy; although deference to the Pope was insincerely affected, and the old professions of attachment to Popery served to make up the preambles of decrees. The Queen-Governess commanded:—

First. That a *junta* should be formed immediately, consisting of Ecclesiastics of the secular and regular Clergy, recommendable for their virtue, learning, dignity, and sincere adherence to legitimacy; and of

laymen in whom, with piety, soundness of judgment, and experience, should be united solid instruction as to *the rights of the crown;* a knowledge which was necessary, in order that those rights might not be infringed.

Secondly. That this *junta* should proceed forthwith to examine the actual state of the whole Spanish territory, in respect to all that in any way related to divine worship and its Ministers; drawing up suitable Reports, founded on the documents and information which they might judge to be in point; and that all authorities, public bodies, and private persons, without any exception, should render assistance so far as required. And,

Thirdly. That in view of the information which they might gain, they should then propose for royal approbation such a plan of amelioration as they might think most useful, accompanied by a minute of a prayer for its execution (*preces*) to be forwarded to the Holy See, in order to obtain the concurrence of its authority. And they should proceed according to instructions drawn up for their guidance by the Government.

These instructions related to all the particulars which might be comprehended in a complete return of the statistics of the Church in both its branches. And "the pious intentions" of Her Majesty were, that all the Spaniards should receive an abundant supply to meet their spiritual wants; that the Clergy should be decently maintained; that every Clergyman should be at his post; that their labour should be equally divided, and their salaries equalised; that superfluities should be curtailed; that the education of candidates for the ministry should be improved; that care should be taken to secure a loyal priesthood; * and that the

* This part of the project is rather amusing. Never was truth more clearly told than by Blackstone, in this one sentence: "For every Popish Priest, of course, renounces his allegiance to his

abuses of the monastic establishments should be corrected. And it was at the same time decreed, that *no more noviciates should be admitted into convents.*

Here began an earnest and happy quarrel with the Court of Rome. These measures, although not fully carried into effect just then, were seen to be necessary to the safety of the nation, but were highly offensive to the politicians at Rome; and the Pope, notwithstanding reasons and intreaties too, refused to acknowledge Isabel II. as Queen of Spain. The Nuncio, Cardinal Tiberi, withdrew from the Spanish Court; and the Archbishop of Nice, whom the Pope sent to be his successor, was not acknowledged by the Queen-Governess, and therefore could not act, except in the way of doing mischief secretly.

The Friars now became thoroughly odious. They were, in fact, the veriest rabble of Popery, one or two orders, of course, excepted; but the greater number of them were ignorant, immoral, and debased beyond conception. Many of the horrors of the civil war were justly laid to their charge; for it would scarcely have been waged but in confident expectation of their assistance. All this being indisputably true, it was not to be supposed that the populace, also profoundly ignorant and grossly immoral, would keep within the bounds of moderation and humanity towards a race of men whom they had ceased to regard with reverence, and whose profession had withdrawn them from the sympathies of general society; and occasion was soon given for an outbreak of retributive fury. On the 16th and 17th of July, while the cholera morbus was raging in Madrid, and the Carlist bands were laying the country waste, even in the neighbourhood of the capital, a report was raised, that the Friars had poi-

temporal Sovereign upon taking orders, that being inconsistent with his new engagements of canonical obedience to the Pope."—*Comment.*, b. iv., c. 6.

soned the public fountains. This was as a spark dropped on the train prepared for the explosion of a mine. It kindled not less suddenly, it ran with no less rapidity through the population of Madrid. The Government sat astounded within hearing of the unexpected tumult. The civic authorities trembled, and were inert from terror. The vast infuriated multitudes, ready even at the best times to receive a momentary impulse, but now maddened against those whom they believed to be no less the contrivers of pestilence than the abettors of the war, crowded the streets, burst open the gates of the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican convents, and threatened to massacre the whole. And this they would have done, but that each convent, by its strong and peculiar construction, served the purpose of a citadel, in which the Friars opposed force to force. The military, meanwhile, were brought to their rescue, the other convents were protected, and not more than thirty of their inmates lost their lives. The civil magistracy was dismissed for not having afforded help in time, and a funeral service was ordered, to appease the manes of those who had been massacred. The rage of the multitude was checked for the moment; but its vengeance was not satisfied. The Monks had already foreseen the downfal of monasticism in Spain; it now seemed to be close at hand, and a deeply-seated apprehension of a general catastrophe pervaded all their orders. Many of them would gladly have paid every mark of submission to the constituted authorities, and a few of the more eminent and influential did apply themselves to do so; but these were far in the minority, and every day accumulating evidence transpired that, in the estimation of the cloistered in general, the cause of God and of Don Carlos was one. Disease and warfare mingled their horrors, and civil enmity would consent to no truce, but drove her ploughshare over the subverted foundations of the

state. The Government strove to shield the Monks from violence, and to vindicate the priesthood from contempt; but it was all in vain. Tithes and first-fruits could no longer be collected as formerly; and th simultaneous voice of the loyal provinces demanded that matters should be put on a better footing. For the time, however, the cautiousness of some, the fears of others, and the state of war in which all were involved, retarded the execution of the design.

Meanwhile, many Spaniards, especially those who had been emigrants in England, appeared desirous to undeceive their countrymen as to our religion. It has been already observed, that, after the fall of the Constitution, in 1823, the periodical press abounded with articles calculated to keep up popular dislike of every thing British and Protestant; but the style of these publications (I speak of the liberal class) was now quite the reverse. The Missionary works, for example, of Ellis, Gutzlaff, and other well-known authors, were favourably reviewed; and the advantages of scriptural instruction, in connexion with the management of public schools in Great Britain and America, were descanted on with unqualified approbation. Such proceedings of religious bodies as were thought to be in unison with the politics of Spain, were made public there; and the liberality of Protestants towards Roman Catholics in England (I am far from speaking with satisfaction of those measures which gave Popery a mischievous advantage among us) was cited, by the advocates of religious liberty in Spain, as a precedent worthy to be followed.

Popular education received an effectual impulse. It was determined that the school-system of mutual instruction should be adopted; and two Spaniards, Villalobos and Gallardo, were sent to London, at the public expense, to be trained in the Borough-road School; with instructions to acquire, independently of that

establishment, all possible information relating to the various systems of public instruction and their details, and to bring home a collection of school-books, out of which should be selected and translated such as might be deemed most useful. Societies for promoting industry, useful arts, and literature were formed, or at least projected, in the chief towns; and essays made, which, even where they failed, must have left an awakening influence behind.

In 1823 Ferdinand had restored their salaries to the officers of the Inquisition, and given back to them the confiscated property, so that that tribunal was virtually revived. But in 1834 these acts were annulled, and the Inquisition was proscribed as odious, wicked, and intolerable. Scarcely a murmur was heard in its behalf; so great a change of moral feeling had taken place in Spain since the protracted and difficult discussion of the same subject in the years 1812–13. "St. James's Vow," formerly abolished by the Cortes of Cadiz, had also been temporarily revived; but this also was utterly and finally suppressed. Affairs being in this state, it was my privilege to be the first Protestant Missionary, and as yet I fear the only one, whom divine Providence sent into Spain on a visit of inquiry. This has to be related in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1835. Missionary Journey to Madrid.

HERE follows a free transcript from my journal, in which I endeavour to retain the freshness of the first impression, and to avail myself of subsequent information, so as to guard against those inaccuracies which are almost inseparable from travellers' tales. But little alteration is made; and the reader is requested to bear in mind, from this advertisement, the reason of some anticipatory observations which are interspersed.

January 10th.—Every arrangement had been made for a short absence from the station. I this morning received a letter from London, conveying the necessary permission, and this evening embarked for Cadiz. Our good people almost gave me over as lost. A few of them came to my house to bid me a sorrowful farewell; and when I commended them and my family to the divine protection during my absence, as we knelt in prayer, they seemed as if the "Order of Prayer for a departing Soul" would have been more in harmony with their feelings, than any other devotional exercise whatever. I thanked them for their kindness; and prayed that God would contradict their fears, in the eventual success of his holy cause.

11th.—I landed at Cadiz this morning. Its appearance from the bay is very pleasing. But the first object which fixed my attention after landing, was the inscription over the gate by which we enter the city: *Dominus custodiat introitum tuum;* "The Lord will keep thy coming-in." No sentence could have been more appropriately brought to my remembrance; and I here record my unfeigned thanks to the God of our life, that he did guard me on my going in, and that

his protection has not been less manifest from that moment to the present. It was then refreshing to feel assured of the fulfilment of that promise; and it is a source of happiness still, to feel that the same promise is offered to every Minister of Christ, who shall go on a similar errand into Spain. It was the Lord's day. The narrow, balconied streets were full of animation and bustle. I observed, during the day, the children of several schools, taken to walk by their Masters or Ushers, who were thus training them to "turn their feet on the Sabbath, to do their own pleasure on God's holy day," most probably without ever having even suspected that, in so doing, they might be transgressing his law. I walked into the Augustine convent, and through the cloisters. In the hall, at the entrance, there were some trifling pictures; one of which was hung round with "miracles," or small waxen figures, representing different parts of the human body, to signify, that miracles of healing were wrought, in those parts, on the persons who made the offerings *by virtue of that picture*. It was a representation of the child Jesus, in the arms of his virgin mother. Underneath was a hymn "to the purity of the Virgin," who, the Augustines contend, was conceived without original sin; and, to keep up the charm of this doctrine with the vulgar, they contrived to have it said, that miracles were performed there. A series of paintings, illustrative of the life and adventures of Augustine, were hung round the court; an inscription, in verse, under each picture, many of them containing blasphemous attribution of divine perfection to the Virgin Mary. There, for example, was portrayed Augustine in a posture of reverence before the Virgin and child. Her bosom was exposed, and his rapturous contemplation was distracted between the smiling face of the child, and the breast of the mother, as in doubt, whether of the two he should

love the better. This doubt was expressed in the inscription, and solved by the last words, as they were written, not, *mas amaría,* "which he should love most;" but, *mas a-maría,* "Mary most." All the convents in Spain were garnished with this profane, licentious trash; and the few specimens here given may serve for all. There were also portraits of the founders of the convent, one of whom was a *Calificador,* or Examining Inquisitor, who had made use of a portion of his salary toward raising this edifice, which was thus, like "the potter's field," purchased, in part at least, with "the price of blood." I observed a Friar, at the door of his cell, buy oranges from two boys. This was on the Lord's day; but they kneeled down to receive his blessing afterwards! Seeing a bookseller's shop open, I walked into it, and looked around. "You have books," said I, "in various languages." "I have." "Have you Bibles?" "No." "Are they ever asked for?" A pause. "Are they ever asked for?" "Sometimes." "Then you ought to sell them." "I ought to sell many books which I do not." I espied an *Index Expurgatorius;** and, after looking over his shelves, happened to say, "I think you have some prohibited books here." "No, I have not; not one." Within a few seconds he stood behind me with the key of the shop in his hand, begged my pardon, but said he must go somewhither. So I withdrew, and he, following, locked up his shop, and walked away in an opposite direction. He thought I had the ill intention of informing against him as a seller of prohibited books.

12th.—This morning I called on a bookseller who had been waiting for six months to receive Bibles for sale. He was not only willing, but desirous, to

* At that time every bookseller was required to keep a copy of this Index in his shop for his guidance. This is not done now, and I believe the book has quite gone out of use.

receive them, because "the work," as he called it, was rare. He suggested a plan of sending copies so as not to bring them under examination at the Custom-house, where an Ecclesiastic was kept in pay, to guard against the introduction of heretical books. I walked round the Franciscan convent, and saw much that is not worth mentioning, except in general, that, so far from any appearance of piety in the inmates, there was not even common respect paid to objects said to be most sacred. "See," said one, pointing to a picture of Christ, which English visitors were said to admire as very fine, "see the Lad!" *Mira al mozo!* For so some mystic devotees call Christ. A son of the British Consul, acting in his father's absence, favoured me with local information, and an introduction.

13th.—I left Cadiz this morning, in a diligence, for Seville. I had been entreated, in Gibraltar, to keep my profession out of sight. The passport was made out accordingly, and I was to follow, in some degree, the custom of other Protestant Clergymen, who, it was said, were used to cast aside every thing professional, and shun whatever might lead to unpleasant discovery. I had never been in disguise before, nor did I well understand how to play the part of not seeming to be what I was, much less of seeming to be what I was not; nor did the practice seem to be very creditable; but to quiet fears in my family and flock, I had agreed to try how far English taciturnity might serve their purpose of concealment. But the trouble might have been spared; for, on stopping to change mules, and dine at Xerez de la Frontera, I was addressed by name at the dinner-table, and every particular which was to have been unmentioned, was communicated to the company; and I had the satisfaction of escaping from the penance of stealing through the country like a fugitive felon, or a spy. The redonda of the diligence was then occupied by five young gentlemen,—

students proceeding to resume their studies in the University of Seville after the Christmas holidays; making up the complement of six passengers in that enclosure: four of them were sons of the Marquis of Campo-ameno, and two of the party were remarkably intelligent. On ascertaining that they had an Englishman in company, they set about obtaining information as to English customs and affairs; and some of their relatives being dignitaries in the Church, (the then Archbishop of Granada among the rest,) they became inquisitive as to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant religion. Our conversation became animated, and deeply interesting, and kept us wide awake all night; and when we reached Seville next morning, they vied with each other in showing me hospitality,—took me to private lodgings, begged my friendship and correspondence, and have continued to show great kindness on subsequent occasions. An occurrence took place in the night, quite characteristic of travelling in Spain. At the village of Alcalá del Guadaíra, while the mules were being changed, I walked forward, by favour of bright moonlight, to see the place, and relieve my position, together with two or three of my fellow-travellers. On leaving the village, just as the high road begins, a numerous band, consisting both of men and women, suddenly issued from a cross-way, all in profound silence, so that their approach was not perceptible until they were close upon us. "Who are these?" I inquired carelessly; but the question was not answered. My friends stood still; and I, not perceiving their embarrassment, walked forward, ascending the hill which there forms a precipitous bank of the river Guadaíra, and admiring the magnificent remains of a Moorish castle on the opposite bank. However, the question was answered afterwards. They were needy vagabonds, on the look-out for a prize. They probably had intended to lie in

wait for the diligence, at some distance out of town; but, seeing us alone, had to choose their victim, and lost a moment in settling the point. During this hesitation, I was moving off the ground; and just as my companions overheard a word descriptive of my great coat, and at the instant when they would probably have pursued me in a body, and escape would have been impossible, a company of muleteers came from the opposite cross-road. My companions hailed them with an accustomed salutation, by which the threatening silence of the *rencontre* was broken, and a party was formed capable of making some resistance. Perceiving this, the thieves shrunk back simultaneously, and dispersed in various directions. I walked onwards, nearly a league, not suspecting danger, until overtaken by the diligence. Then came to mind the sentence engraven over the gate of Cadiz: "The Lord shall keep thy coming in."

14th.—We reached Seville about seven o'clock this morning. After breakfast I called on our Vice-Consul, and thence proceeded to seek out the dwelling of D. Juan Ramon Ramirez. He must be mentioned here as an example of the benefit which results from the stated ministration of the Gospel in the Spanish language in Gibraltar. On a Sunday evening in November, 1834, he attended, as do many other Spaniards, to gratify his curiosity, and heard a sermon. He came to me at the close of the service, and requested an interview. Next morning he breakfasted with us, and some time was spent in religious conversation. He said that he was like a ship without helm or pilot; disgusted with the priesthood of his own country, yet utterly uninformed as to religion. I was pleased with his frankness, recommended him to study a Bible which he purchased, and encouraged him to call again. He did so, and invited me to visit him, should I ever go to Seville. I went to his house accordingly; and

although not then expected, found that he had taken home so accurate a description, that when I made my appearance his wife and mother anticipated introduction, by saying, *V. viene de Gibraltar:* "You come from Gibraltar." I had scarcely got back to my lodgings, when he came to insist that I should make his house my home then, and whenever I should be in Seville. With some reluctance, as he is rather a poor man, I accepted his hospitality; for he would not be denied. He has numerous family connexions in this city, chiefly respectable tradesfolk; and assured me that there were thousands who would gladly declare themselves Protestants, should the way be opened by the proclamation of religious liberty, which is earnestly desired by the people. I should not mention this, but that subsequent observation has confirmed the probability of the conjecture. It was computed, he said, that about seven-ninths of the population of Seville did not go to mass nor to the Confessional.* But these are infidel, and indifferent to all religion; while the minority, who keep up the old forms, are generally remarkable for bigotry. A comedy, called "The Devil-Preacher," was to be exhibited that evening, in which Friars would be personated on the stage; a comedy which stands in the Spanish Expurgatory Index, (Supplement added in 1805,) as having been prohibited by the Inquisition just thirty-one years before. This was being done openly, in one of the first capitals of Spain, an Archiepiscopal See, and residence of a Cardinal

* He stated the population at 90,000, and the absentees from church at 70,000, not including in the calculation mere visiters at sermons and ceremonies on the festivals. Another and more recent estimate gives the numbers as 50,000 and 35,000, making the proportion of absentees to be seven-tenths. Great as is the numerical difference, there is a remarkable agreement as to the fact; and what is affirmed of Seville, may be presumed of all the chief towns of Spain.

Archbishop, none preventing, because none could resist the tide of disaffection from the Church. It occurred to me that we should exhibit our placards for the Bible, and that infidel effrontery should not exceed Christian boldness. And after that time the word of God was advertised in the most public manner.

As Ramirez and I perambulated Seville, he pointed out many historical objects with all the zeal of a true Sevilian, who never forgets an old compliment to his city, now passed into a proverb :—

Quien no ha visto Sevilla,
No ha visto Maravilla.

"He who has not seen Seville, never saw a wonder." The lofty and unique Giralda, once matched with a mosque, now attached to a cathedral; the still magnificent Alcázar, an ancient seat of Moorish grandeur; the lovely paintings of Murillo, prince of Spanish artists; and many other things, were viewed with hurried admiration, but were not the objects of prevailing interest, to an eye that had been fixed a thousand times on the sublime relics of the Parthenon, the delineations of Raphael, the colouring of Titian and of Rubens, and the more familiar beauties of our native school. "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven."

On the Guadalquiver is a bridge of boats, which rises as the river swells with winter flood, and falls as it subsides during summer drought. Down and up the antiquated way, you pass between Seville and the Triana, a large suburb on the northern side. Here *is* a modern market-place, where *was* the first Inquisition of Seville, raised in the thirteenth century, by the misnamed SAINT Ferdinand. From this soil, of which the pavement hides the bones of many victims, the groans of martyrs ascended to heaven. From this place their blood still cries for vengeance; and as we

stood there, wretched Spain, distracted, half-peopled, waste, reeking with the blood of her children, was suffering the scourge of God's retributive justice. Having re-crossed the bridge, we went into a church. *Chains* were suspended over the entrance, because despot Kings had gone in there; yet the emblem, significant of bondage as it is, was looked on as a sign of honour. Into this church the prisoners of that execrable tribunal used to be brought to hear sentence pronounced, and sermons delivered. There have been seated Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic; or thence rising, they have carried wood to a neighbouring hearth, as an exercise of piety, to consume their subjects therewith. But the local history of all Seville, and of the heads of provinces, abounds in similar associations.

In the company of some persons to-day, Ramirez happened to mention that I was a Preacher, which at once turned the conversation on religious subjects. After declining an invitation to adjourn to a coffee-house, as inconsistent with the conscience and character of a Minister of the Gospel, not, as they supposed, with any precise rules of his "order," I drew their attention to the Bible, of which they were so ignorant, that they knew not how to look out a book or chapter, and had heard so little that they did not even know that its perusal was in any way restricted. To appease their amazement at hearing of the prohibitions which had nearly kept it out of Spain, I read and descanted on 1 Tim. iii., iv., Rev. xvii., and the Ten Commandments, these being some of the many parts which cannot be made known without endangering the credit of the Popish system. Then came a Capellan (beneficed Chaplain) of Utrera, a small town in the province of Seville, and we talked about the prayers of their Church. He acknowledged, that it seemed to him very absurd to read Latin prayers to Spanish peo-

ple, for doing which he could never see a reason. However, holding office, he commits the same absurdity himself in his church; and *his* reason for doing so is, that he is paid for it.

15th.—After breakfast, Ramirez took me to see a friend of his, the parish Priest of St. Gil, who had often expressed a wish to talk with me. He seemed to be a kindly-natured man, free and unassuming, but of extremely lax notions as to religion. I surveyed the interior of this sacerdotal dwelling with some degree of inquisitiveness, as it was the first I had ever entered. It looked nothing like a "Bachelors' Hall:" quite as snug a house as my own. But this was immediately accounted for when his *house-keeper*, an agreeable female, much younger than he, somewhere between the age of twenty-five and thirty, came forward with all the confidence of mistress of the family. In reply to some question about theological studies, he said that in Spain little was taught except theology; whereas in other countries philosophy was studied more; and he lamented this defect in Spain. "But then," said he, "we can study theology with our eyes shut. It differs from mathematics, a science which requires attention, and affords demonstration of what is to be learnt. But in theology you have only to believe what you are told, and the work is done." He had not the smallest conception of the nature of scriptural divinity; nor did he think the knowledge of it to be at all useful for the maintenance of an evangelical ministry, and for the conversion of infidels. He thought it *impossible* to convince an infidel of the truth of revealed religion. I endeavoured to show him the ease with which many obscure passages of the Bible, provided that their subject lie within the scope of human observation, and be susceptible of direct evidence, may be investigated by the light of authentic history, concurrent with scriptural testimony, and with

the aid of sound criticism; and endeavoured to illustrate my position by one or two examples which occurred at the moment. He assented; but lest he should go out of his depth, I suppose, or openly avow himself to be an infidel, he sate in silence. To break the pause, I put some common-place inquiries about the state of Spain; but, on my directing his attention to the power and mercy of God, as constituting the ground of hope amidst the horrors of the civil war, he coolly asked, if I really thought that God would meddle with such trifles as are the quarrels of insignificant creatures such as we. It had never occurred to him that such a sentiment must appear very unbecoming in a Clergyman, and he was surprised that I did not participate in it with him. Well he might be surprised; for it is the sentiment which prevails both with Priests and people. He offered me his house, in the usual style; and we proceeded to his church to see some images, which Ramirez thought were so beautiful that they ought to be admired. But the keepers of the place paid no more respect to the "sacred images" than did their Pastor to the Bible; so that, taking the whole, there seemed to be more than was meant in that sentence of the Council of Trent, which is practically applied in these countries to all that is really or nominally sacred: *Non quod credatur inesse aliqua in iis divinitas vel virtus:* "Not that you must believe that there is any divinity or virtue in them."

In the afternoon I walked out with my fellow-travellers, who were really interesting guides. Just after sunset we went into the cathedral. The gloomy majesty of the building at this hour is most impressive, and indeed at every hour of day and evening, and under every change of light or shade, the effect produced by a view of the interior is totally different from every thing without. A scenic charm is thrown over all objects, and the mind struggles between the enjoy-

ment of what is really sublime, and sorrow in the contemplation of the idolatrous worship which is incessantly conducted there. A few penitents, dispersed over the floor, were dimly seen to be kneeling ; and as we passed them they were heard to whisper by tale, and in a hurried manner, forms of words, which, even if understood and felt, could scarcely be designated prayers, although at first sight an uninformed stranger might have admired them as very models of devotion. Within the gorgeous choir, Ecclesiastics, never to be mingled with the unconsecrated worshippers without, were chanting their vespers, accompanied by the sound of the organ ; yet so solemnly measured were the notes, that they rather tranquillized the sense than disturbed the silence. Alone, within the strong enclosure of the high altar, sate the Cardinal Cienfuegos, not enrobed, nor with any attendant near him, but in solitary state, like a shade, just perceptible by the scanty gleaming of a few half-trimmed lamps. He was presumed to be absorbed in holy contemplation, and to be pouring out his soul in mental prayer. The Searcher of hearts alone could tell what were the secrets then revolving in his bosom. They who knew him doubted as to the devotion of his meditations. Be this as it might, he was in the last days of his glory ; for, shortly afterwards, he was convicted of being then in treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his country, of contributing, if my information be correct, a part of his exorbitant revenue to the support of the Carlist rebellion, and was banished from Seville ; and on my next visit to the city, I walked through the splendid apartments of his vacated palace. A crowd of beggars, gathered around the rails, disturbed for a moment the impression of sanctity which the incomparable artifice of their cathedral-service had forced upon the mind. They were waiting for *his blessing*, should he deign to extend his hand towards them on leaving the place,

and for the *alms* which a compassionate stranger might bestow. The contrast here exhibited was so striking and so significant, as to arouse the party of students who accompanied me to the loud utterance of language, which, if heard even at a street-corner a few years before, would have brought them all into the Inquisition before sunrise. Our party was numerous; and as the cathedral serves not less as a promenade than as a place of worship, I availed myself of that occasion to give them a sketch of the constitution and operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of those great and holy institutions which characterize our scriptural Christianity, as contrasted with the scene then present. One of them especially expressed a lively desire to have the Bible, to examine for himself; and a copy was afterwards sent to him. I took tea with our Vice-Consul. Among the company was an old inhabitant of Seville, who predicted what was generally expected, and soon took place,—the downfal of monasticism in Spain. The Friars, as all said, had fallen into utter contempt; and for some years none but the dregs of the people had betaken themselves to the monastic way of getting a livelihood. Nor were the Friars allowed to visit in any family of which the female part had not already lost their character.

At the house of Ramirez, before retiring to rest, I had the satisfaction of assembling the family at prayer. It was, of course, the first time in their lives that they had ever been engaged in such a manner; and I therefore the more rejoiced to lead them to the mercy-seat, and hoped, prayed, and believed, that the time was rapidly approaching when family-religion should be known in Spain. In the course of the day I had called at a bookseller's shop to inquire about Bibles. He had not a single copy in Spanish or Latin; but exhibited an assortment of Pontifical Ceremonials, Missals,

Breviaries, &c., splendid editions; but the word of God was not there. During the Constitution in the years 1820–23, he had received copies from Gibraltar, and sold them; but now he feared to receive any for sale, as the Bible was *a prohibited book*. He said, that the rule of the Index, requiring every bookseller to produce his catalogue, was not enforced; but that any one detected in selling prohibited books might be fined *at discretion*.

16th.—I visited the library of the Cathedral. It is contained in two spacious and lofty rooms, and is by far the largest in Seville, if not in all the provinces, and was founded by Fernando Colon, son of the famous Cristóbal Colon, (Columbus,) discoverer of the New World.* With that liberality which characterizes similar institutions in Spain, it is open to all persons, without exception. Any one may have free access to the books, and study on the spot as long and as often as he pleases. There is a large proportion of theological and ecclesiastical works; but the stock of biblical literature is miserably small. There was but one entire copy of the Hebrew Bible in a separate form, and another with the notes of Kimchi on the Minor Prophets. I was shown two beautifully-written Latin manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but could not find that there were any Greek manuscripts. The Librarian produced instead an early-printed edition of the New Testament in Greek. Yet Spain is the country of the first complete Polyglott Bible.

On the same day I had three long conversations with parties of Collegiates. Five of them were exceedingly attentive, and never left me without a guide. They determined to ascertain fully and precisely what

* Not taking Greenland into the account, which was discovered some centuries before. But there is a Spanish statement of the discovery of America, which, if true, is a fine illustration of divine Providence. See Appendix, No. V.

I was; and I had the honour to make myself known as a Methodist Minister. Groups of students gathered round me to get information as to England, the Episcopalians, Calvinists, Methodists, Quakers. They desired leave to examine my head, expecting to find the tonsure and its size, which is of some importance, (for their Priests cover their shaven heads, on certain occasions, with patches of false hair, wearing also artificial whiskers and mustachios,) and wondered at finding my head furnished with its proper covering. They asked why I had it not? Have we images in our churches? Do we officiate in robes? Do we say masses? Do we believe in the mystery of the sacrament? in the purity of the Virgin? in the Holy Trinity? saints? miracles? confession? Why do we not acknowledge the Pope? In short, they made me undergo a thorough examination; and the more they learned, so much the more their curiosity was quickened. In the evening more than two hours were delightfully spent in conversation with a student of theology, named Sanchez. He brought his Text-book, (*Schram,*) a compendium of polemical divinity; and proposed many questions, desiring to know our faith on several articles. I requested him to bring his Latin Bible, as an authority acknowledged on both sides; and our discussion was conducted in the most friendly spirit. The listeners were infidels; but none of their witticisms could provoke him to a smile. Unlike the parish Priest of St. Gil, he professed reverential submission to the authority of the holy Scriptures, and would not contend for any proposition clearly contrary to them. I urged him to direct his attention to the study of the original languages, and thence to biblical criticism; assuring him of the benefits which would accrue to him and to others, would they but cast off the trammels of scholasticism. But I especially laboured to combat the proposition of his master, that "faith is a grace which God imparts to the righteous;" and

strove to show him the way of salvation which God appoints for sinners by repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. It was impossible not to feel fervent love for him, and for that people "laden with iniquity," while endeavouring to show him how, by insisting on this precious doctrine, *he* might preach with good effect, and win many souls. He freely assented to the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith; and when I had finished my statement of it, looked sorrowful, and remained silent. I was sorry that I could not spend much more time in Seville, and have a field of labour among those interesting young men. They told me that there were about three thousand students at the University, chiefly of law and medicine, and some of divinity. Of this three thousand, the greater number are said to be infidels.

17th.—This was my last day in Seville for that time. It was spent in conversations similar to those of the day before; and with much regret I took a seat in a diligence to proceed to Madrid on the 18th. The duties of the Gibraltar Station could not be neglected; so that I did not remain long enough in any one place to establish permanent connexions. The journey was tedious; and such was the state of the roads and poverty of the beasts, that it could not be otherwise. Much of the country through which we passed lay waste, and the few cultivated spots were but ill attended to. The towns and villages exhibited the appearance of extreme wretchedness. In most of them we were surrounded by crowds of beggars, men, women, and children. The ruins of ancient edifices, houses dilapidated and deserted, the sweep of the walls of some towns far beyond the compass of the existing habitations, and the comfortless and even squalid appearance of the peasantry, indicated a rapid and deep declension from a state of superior civilization and prosperity. The village of Carolina, in the Sierra

Morena, was at that time to be excepted from the general description; but it is to be lamented that even this exception appears to have ceased, and Carolina now looks as miserable as other places. We then seemed to have passed instantaneously into some other country, and to be holding intercourse with a distinct people. Provisions at the inn were not only abundant, but served up with decency and comfort. The people in general seemed to be intent on business; and trains of labourers, with their waggons, &c., were coming into town, or going out into the country. The surrounding fields were blooming under the toil of a robust and cheerful peasantry. The streets through which we passed were not disfigured by pictures and images of saints, and *one* church reared its spire in the midst. This and the neighbouring villages are the colony founded by Charles III., in the latter half of the last century. The first inhabitants were Germans and Swiss, invited from their native countries to cultivate the soil, desolated in consequence of the expulsion of Jews, Moriscoes, and multitudes of Spaniards, who had fled from time to time to avoid both religious and political persecutions, and in consequence also of the celibacy of the Priests, Nuns, and Friars, and the consequent licentiousness of the whole population. It is said, that among those settlers there were many Protestants, who were at first amused with a promise that they might exercise their own religion; but that the fulfilment was evaded, and the promise itself forgotten. I do not know whether there is any documentary evidence of this; but such an event is by no means improbable, and, if true, is instructive to British settlers in Spain at this day. And here it may be noted, that it is a general and published opinion of enlightened Spaniards, that colonies of English agriculturists and manufacturers might be established all over the country, to the mutual advantage of both

nations; religious liberty, free from all restriction, being, of course, a first and indispensable condition.

22d.—I reached Madrid this afternoon, and paid my first visit to a bookseller, with whom I had corresponded, and who was particularly desirous to obtain Bibles for sale, but as yet knew not by what means to effect their importation.

23d.—I called on Don Felix Torres Amat, Bishop of Astorga, and translator of the Bible, of whose work mention has been made in the preceding pages. He appeared to be a truly amiable man, and anxious to acquit himself of all suspicion of bigotry. He said that he had received kind assistance from Englishmen in publishing his version, and recounted the services which they had rendered to him; that he acknowledged Protestants to be Christians, and knew many of them to be actuated by the most pious and generous sentiments. It was said, that he had been persecuted on account of having corresponded with the British and Foreign Bible Society; but no such connexion ever existed. He had been called on from Rome to examine the versions published in Spain by the Bible Societies, and report on their alleged corruption. He said that he reported, that after having seen all, as he believed, of these versions, and examined the principal passages cited in controversy between us, he had not detected the slightest corruption in any one instance; and that at the same time he told the Pope, that if they in Rome calumniated the Protestants, by laying against them accusations which could not be substantiated, they would inevitably lose their cause. He kindly presented me with a copy of his version, which, he said, he had desired the printer to sell at cost price, adding only a commission for himself, as he (the Bishop) wished for no profit from it. His object was "to throw the book into circulation among heads of families, Priests, who *ought* to read the Bible, and

Friars, who were too generally ignorant of it." He intended also to distribute gratuitously one hundred copies among the Clergy of his diocess. He gave me detailed information respecting the hostility to his work manifested in Rome, which has been noticed already. As it was a feast-day, I could pay no more visits, but only learn my way about the streets of Madrid.

24th.—I was introduced to Fray José de la Canal, Augustinian Monk in the convent of San Felipe Real. He is busy in preparing a continuation of the *España Sagrada*, by appointment of the Royal Academy of History, of which he is a member. He received me most kindly, and we had a long and very pleasing conversation. He then occupied an excellent set of apartments in the convent, and was surrounded by an extensive library; every thing wearing an appearance of comfort, and even of elegance, rather in contrast with the flannel garb and unshaven beard of the learned Friar, whose intellectual countenance, easy and cheerful manner, and dignity of sentiment, expressed with the ease of a courtier, in speaking on various subjects, were those of a man too valuable to be immured within the cloister. The Inquisition, he said, had ruined Spain; the nation had been literally vanquished and enslaved by Rome; religion had been oppressed, and almost lost; literature was buried, and but some vestiges of it were remaining, as if preserved by miracle; for that any other nation would have been sunken into utter barbarism under such immense disadvantages as had afflicted Spain. Infidelity had been brought in from France, and the people, submerged in ignorance, were carried away by a flood of unbelief and licentiousness, until the state of the Spanish youth had become lamentable in the extreme. To show that he had not taken up these views hastily, he read a few sentences from his preface to a work which he had

translated, in the year 1823, from French into Spanish, with the title of *Apolojista Antirevolucionario ;* where he had openly declared, that the people of Spain were abandoned to a state of profound ignorance, and that the only remedy was in the hands of the Clergy, who ought to provide them with sound instruction. But since then, he added, things had grown worse instead of better. The prohibitions which had been laid in the way of literature, he deplored in strong language, and said that the Clergy should have employed their pens to resist the influx of irreligion and scepticism, but that it had been rendered impossible for them to do so. Priests, who were in general profoundly ignorant, were posted at the custom-houses, to keep out of the kingdom every foreign work to which they might object, perhaps without understanding the title-page. Even the Ministers of religion were not so much as allowed to read a prohibited book without special licence, as though they were unworthy of confidence, and had no judgment of their own to guide them. "But now" (these were his words) "the Spanish Clergy are generally weary of the arrogance and domineering measures of the Romans, and are desirous to break off the yoke." He deemed that it was much to be desired that the Spanish and Anglican Churches should unite, and make a stand against Rome; or if not, it appeared to him, that *through Romish art and antichristian policy,* Christianity would soon be driven out of Europe.* To this I replied, that if the Church

* If el Padre de la Canal expected too much from Episcopacy, as the "pillar and ground of the truth" in Europe, that may be attributed to his imperfect knowledge of the actual state of Protestant churches in general, or to his estimate of the influence which would be exerted by the combined Episcopate of England and Spain, if thrown into the scale against the Court of Rome. His views, however, are stated as characteristic of the feeling of many Ecclesiastics, perhaps of many more than we might sup-

of Spain were to cast off the Pope of Rome, there might not be much difficulty in effecting a union with the Anglican, as far as discipline is concerned, as the position of both would then be similar; but I feared that it would be impossible for them to agree as to the dogma, since they differed almost entirely on many of the cardinal points of faith. He thought that difference might be easily overcome. "For," said he, "we would agree to abide by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in the first place, and then be further guided by the Fathers of the Church of the first six centuries, and reject the superstitions which were afterwards introduced; although, indeed, abuses began with Constantine." Fray José politely regretted that our acquaintance must be so short; and as I was about to leave, took me aside into his bed-chamber and, as he threw open the door, playfully exclaimed, *Ahí estan los presos!* "There are the prisoners!" The prisoners were a collection of several hundreds of prohibited books, probably gotten by the clerical custom-house searchers, in French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin. There was no time to look over them, as he was going to the academy on business; but he pointed out a few, and, among others, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

On the same day I met with Don Eujenio Tapia, an eminent lawyer and literary man. In worse times he had been imprisoned in the Inquisition, on account of his liberal political opinions. But he had also breathed the free air of our happy island, and learned to love Englishmen, speak our language, and desire constitu-

pose, and which evidently arises from a different source than that whence have issued so many projects for *re-union of churches*. But there could be little to hinder some degree of re-union now; and Oxford and Salamanca might fraternize without either of the parties being much better or much worse for the partnership.

tional and religious liberty; and he was then employed as one of a Commission, in preparing a code of laws which was to have been submitted to the Cortes. I conversed also with el Señor de Quintana, one of the most popular and accomplished literati of Spain, a Prócer of the kingdom, (that is, member of the upper House,) and President, I believe, of the Commission for preparing the new code.

I saw a baptism administered in the evening, in the parish church of St. Louis. As it was to be well paid for, it was performed in high style. There was in perfection the whole mummery of spittle, breath, salt, oil, hot water, wax candles, merry music, costly robes, and procession from the baptistry to the altar. The Priest transacted the business with indescribable irreverence and haste, and the process of baptism was performed on the child's head, over the font, as if it had been a surgical operation rather than a Christian sacrament.

As the following would be the Lord's day, I had indulged with pleasure the expectation of consecrating an hour, at least, to the worship of Almighty God, according to a Protestant form, in the chapel of the British Ambassador; and hoped to have met there some who would have been interested in maintaining the externals of scriptural worship, if nothing more, in the heart of that idolatrous city. To obtain the necessary information of time and place, I called at the residence of our National Representative. The porter did not understand my inquiries, and I was sent up stairs to try if I could be understood there. I found a steward, or upper servant, who said that he had been in that service eight years; *but had never seen any thing of the kind, nor indeed any observance of Sunday, nor was there any Chaplain.* Several English gentlemen had called from time to time, to make a similar inquiry; but, of course, all had been disappointed. It is easy enough to talk about the

intolerance of the Spaniards, and about the danger of meddling with their religion, while our country, or our Government, has kept it out of their power to be tolerant, by affording them no object of toleration; and the Protestant religion has been despised in Spain with some show of reason, when even the Representative of our Sovereign, whatever be his private thoughts, (and these he is not allowed an opportunity of manifesting,) seems to be ashamed of it; and when travelling Clergymen, either through fear or shame, or for greater liberty, go through the country in disguise, while yet they are known by their own Consuls, and by others too, to be frequenting bull-fights and comedies on the Lord's day. If our poor countrymen, lay and even clerical, cast off the restraints of conscience when in Spain, it were an act of mercy, even to them alone, to send out a few Ministers of Christ, whose neighbourhood might possibly be some check to travellers who have no fear of God before their eyes. The neglect now noticed may not have originated in any individual Minister at the Court of Madrid, and may have been a subject of regret to those who have held that important office; but the evil is not on this account the less a reproach to our name and nation. And if I might be allowed liberty to speak on such a subject, I should say, that the British nation cannot possibly be acquitted of indifference to the honour of the Protestantism which we profess to hold as the religion of Christ, and the fountain of our honour and prosperity, as long as the British envoy in Spain has not a chapel and a Chaplain. The man should be of such a sort, and the place should be fitted up in such a manner, as to be creditable to us in sight of the Spanish Court and nation; and the Chaplain should be of an apostolic spirit, ready to sympathize with and help, as brethren, the Ministers of whatever orthodox denomination might be located among Englishmen in different

parts of the country, yet making no sectarian pretension to exclusive authority over their flocks.

25th.—On the Lord's day I remained in my lodgings until towards evening, endeavouring to unite with the great body of believers, dispersed over the whole world, in the sanctification of the Christian Sabbath. It was profitable to meditate on what the believer enjoys in being admitted to communion with God in every situation to which he may be providentially appointed. I had borrowed a small book, professedly treating on the very subject; but derived no benefit from its perusal. It contained many fine sayings; but "the Way, the Truth, and the Life" was not there. It was merely, "By such and such means you may get communion with God. Such a Father said thus. The following advantages result from divine communion." And so on it goes. Hence it is that the Romish mystics toil in vain. Their labour, like that of the daughters of Danaus, is an interminable and ineffectual mockery. Their system is defective,—so defective, so utterly unlike the Gospel, that they cannot make use of it to draw any water from the fountain of salvation, wherewith to irrigate the garden of the Lord, which lies desolate in barrenness and drought. It is wearisome to hear in England of Catholic Divines, and heavenly-minded ascetics, when here you find them just the reverse of all that is imagined of them, acting a heartless pantomime.

An English gentleman, who lodged in the same house, hearing that a person of the same language was there, kindly called in to offer his services, and I had the pleasure of dining with him. There was a third person present, a Priest in habit, but without any cure of souls, as they call it; and it would be well if all of the same sort were as exempt as he; for he was a hardened infidel, far more barefaced than the one I had met in Seville. My host had not come into Spain with any

concern for religion, so he quietly dropped asleep while my opponent and I kept up a warm, but to me most painful, controversy, until happily suspended by the entrance of a very different kind of person, a Señor Zotillo. This gentleman was the first Spaniard I met with, who could not only recognise the personal appearance of a Minister, but express a sincere satisfaction in falling into his company. He had been in England as an emigrant, and fancied that he had seen me at the house of my first Leader in class, Joseph Butterworth, Esq. He spoke of Mr. Butterworth in the most affectionate and honourable manner, as having been a devout Christian and generous benefactor of his distressed countrymen when emigrants in England; and he appeared to transfer a similar feeling of regard to me, on hearing that we were of the same communion. He gave me the address of Don Lorenzo Villanueva, brother of the celebrated Villanueva, at that time alive, an emigrant in Dublin. His works have been already noticed.

26th.—I paid another visit to the Bishop of Astorga. It would be difficult to record much of our conversation, as it was very lengthened. His favourite topic was union of the Spanish and Anglican Churches. He believed that the higher Clergy of Spain would most readily cast off all subjection to the Pope, leaving to him merely the first place in the episcopate, which he thought ought to be allowed to him; and did not apprehend that such pre-eminence would be in any way prejudicial to the Bishops and other Clergy. He freely conceded, that Luther and the Reformers generally were right in their opposition to the abuses of the Church, committed or sanctioned at Rome; but thought that they did wrong in rending the seamless garment of Christ; * that they did well in despising

* This is a beautiful idea, but only applicable to *the church of Christ itself*, which Romanism is not. The comparison, however, is rather rhetorical than scriptural.

the Pope's bulls and decretals: he would have done the same. He affirmed, confidently, that the enlightened part of the Clergy of Spain would most readily abandon the mummeries which in the course of ages have been introduced into the worship of God, and return, with Protestants, to primitive simplicity. Still, he thought that we had gone into the contrary extreme. It would have been unseasonable to enter into a formal controversy; but I observed, that the union which he so much desired could hardly be brought about in the present state of doctrine of the respective Churches. He challenged me to cite some points of doctrine on which I thought it impossible to be agreed. I cited those of transubstantiation and purgatory. "As to transubstantiation," said he, "Protestants agree with us that Christ is present in the sacrament of the eucharist; but then, as to the mode of his presence, *unusquisque in suo sensu abundat:* and St. Paul, in so saying, preached toleration to all parties." For purgatory, he contended. I expressed the insuperable difficulty which Protestants would feel, should they even endeavour to believe a doctrine not revealed in holy Scripture. "Yes," said he, "it is. You know that purgatory is mentioned in the Maccabees."—"But you know that the books of the Maccabees are not a part of the ancient canon of Scripture, acknowledged to be written by divine inspiration, and that they have been but lately received as such."—"But then you must acknowledge, that that passage proves the custom of praying for the dead to be ancient." The Bishop then alleged the consent, in the main, of the Greek and Oriental Churches, and asserted, that there is a chain of testimonies of the Fathers from the earliest times, and cited St. Augustine as praying that the soul of his deceased mother might be brought *à caligine ad lucem.* "But still," continued he, "it is an article of faith that none can enter

heaven without being purified from sin; but as to the mode of purification, each might entertain his own views, and neither contend for it nor against it." I said nothing to prolong the discussion; but he was much in earnest. "We must lay aside our passion," he exclaimed, "and manifest Christian charity. The enemy of the church is not now Luther nor Calvin, but Antichrist; and in order to combat him effectually, we must leave the outworks, whatever they be, come back into the citadel itself, which is divine revelation, and then be united, and contend for that, or in fifty years hence there will be no religion in the world." And again: "The generality of Catholics would say, that you cannot be saved; but I say that you can: for you, and other Protestants, if you hold the essentials of Christianity, are Christians as well as we." He urged me, being young, to think well on the subject, and to draw up the sketch of a project for the union of Christians against infidels. I observed, that infidelity had spread its ravages, not only amongst the laity, but amongst the Clergy also. "Few of the Clergy," he replied: "they are more generally fanatics than infidels. Infidelity would rob them of their living; but superstition and fanaticism provide us with maintenance; therefore it would not suit us to be infidels." There was much lamentable truth in this ironical concession. He mentioned some particulars of his literary history, and gave as an example, among others, of the greater liberty of the time, the fact that whereas in the first edition of his version, he had inserted after the word "Peter," at Acts ii. 14, the words, "as chief of the Apostles," he had omitted them in the second edition, as being disputable by the Protestants, and because they convey an opinion for which he was not anxious to contend.

He was so kind as to present me with copies of his Bible, and of other works written or edited by himself;

and I sincerely regret to say that the perusal of these books has counteracted, although certainly not erased from my mind, the admiration, nay, the affectionate esteem, with which I should ever have regarded him, had I only known him by those interviews. Amat speaking, and Amat writing, are not the same man. Most men appear to best advantage in the portraiture of their own pens; but here the case is precisely the reverse. He wrote under *censorship*; and the result is, that he has been forced to sacrifice his integrity and reputation to the Church which finds means to corrupt and degrade its most learned and most amiable members. His writings, but especially some parts of his famous biblical work, are extremely and needlessly intolerant, if hard words, applied to Protestants, be any indication of intolerance. Alas, alas! how many good men are spoiled by the bad masters whom they serve! Private persons in communion with Popery, may transact the ordinary business of life with a good degree of uprightness; but the Ministers and rulers of a Church which subsists by fraud, cannot be depended on, since they must maintain and teach what they know to be untrue.

At Madrid, I met with many other interesting persons and things; but merely give the above selection from what I noted at the time.

February 1st.—Under this date I find observations in my Journal, written in Seville, to the following purport:—During a journey of four days from Madrid, my mind had been intensely occupied in reflecting on all that I had seen and heard, as well as on the objects and incidents which succeeded each other on the way, and in revolving the important question, *How shall the Gospel be carried into Spain?* I felt painfully convinced that the great mass of the people were abandoned to idleness and vice. They had learned to despise, and had been driven to hate, the long-estab-

lished superstition. Infidelity had spread beyond all that a stranger could have imagined. Here was not merely blank ignorance, but inveterate wickedness, luxuriating in wild and horrible excess. It seemed as if Missions in pagan Africa could not be so difficult as in this nominally Christian country. And how might the state of the people be faithfully described by one who was as yet almost a stranger! It appeared that the dreary picture was not altogether without relief; that there were a few, who, while they had shaken off the yoke of the vulgar superstition, yet revered God and religion; that their minds were open to conviction; and that to them our efforts might be beneficial. Still it was evident that even these, having no standard of principle, had fallen into a pernicious laxity of sentiment. They were liberal; and this was encouraging; but then they would class together Protestants, Jews, and Moors, as being all alike candidates for freedom in the exercise of their respective forms of worship, supposing that they professed religions equally worthy of the respect, if not the credence, of mankind. In the lower classes, and it was said that in the higher also, the females were extremely degraded; and the ordinary language of both men and women was blasphemous, trifling, and obscene. People were friendly and hospitable; and were it not for the highway robbers, it appeared that a stranger might dwell among them in perfect safety. But they could not understand his best feelings. To ingratiate themselves with a Minister of the Gospel, they seemed to think it sufficient that they should deride the Friars; but that they should refrain from filthy and profane discourse when in his presence, was a refinement of decorum quite beyond their notions. That Jesus Christ is the only Saviour and Intercessor, and that his love, his holiness, and his truth, must be experienced in the

heart of the believer, and exemplified in his conduct, were "strange things" to their hearing.

However, one cheering fact was unexpectedly ascertained, has been since confirmed, and is now thankfully recorded. Among the more intelligent, there was a large number who entertain a prepossession highly favourable to Protestant doctrines and worship, so far as they had acquired any idea of them; and this was probably brought about, not only by the personal influence of returned emigrants, but by the improved state of the periodical press, which has been already noticed, as the principal medium of general information. One of the many rational and intelligent persons with whom I met, was a young man of Cordova, who joined the diligence in that city, as it passed down from Madrid. We rode together for some hours without any fellow-passenger to disturb the train of conversation, so that I could speak to him the more freely and fully. He was a young man, but, unlike the greater number of young men in Spain, was married. We separated at Ecija, and he waited at the inn while I opened my portmanteau to give him my Bible. The gift was accompanied by exhortation and advice as to the right manner of reading it, which he received, not only with thankfulness, but with an emotion which caused tears to flow; and thus we bade each other farewell, probably not to meet again until the last great day.

CHAPTER V.

1835. Return to Gibraltar—Version of the Bible, with Commentary, projected—Version of the Four Gospels, with Commentary, executed—Unsuccessful Effort to form a Congregation in San Roque—The Author arrested—He addresses a Remonstrance to the President of the Chamber of Próceres—The Cortes remedy Abuses—The Order of Jesuits is put down in Spain—The Monastic Establishments are reduced—Ordinations to the Priesthood are prohibited—The Monasteries are suppressed—The Secular Clergy are deprived of dangerous Immunities—The Cortes affect Orthodoxy, and enact an intolerant Law of the Press.

FEBRUARY 4th.—I returned to Gibraltar. The homeward journey was rather hurried, and therefore extremely fatiguing. But all who will travel in Spain, and cross the country, where there are no roads, few resting-places, and these as bad as can be, suffer the same inconvenience. The advantages derived from this visit, were some knowledge of the actual state of character and opinions, and a clue to further correspondence.

During those solitary walks in advance of the slowly-moving diligence, in which I indulged at almost every stage, the universal ignorance of the Holy Scriptures in the people, and of sound biblical learning in their teachers, was too important a fact not to excite the most serious reflections. I had seen in Seville and Madrid two of the chief libraries in the country, but could not find a single work that might be classed under the denomination of *Critica Sacra;* and even the philological works were such as would scarcely obtain a reference in Germany, England, or America. A Lexicon, for example, of which I really forget the title, was a mere nomenclature, running down in parallel columns of Hebrew and Latin words; and

even where some show of interpretation appeared, it was by mere recitation of the authoritative *dicta* of saints and Fathers. The little learning existing was perverted to an ill use, because, perhaps, the right application of sacred literature was not understood; and even Masoretic accents were cited in proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Amat, learned as he is, had not even *heard* of Lightfoot and Schoëttgen;* and many, very many, of the Priests had not even a Latin Bible in their possession. It appeared, therefore, that, among other measures, something should be done to excite the Priests themselves to scriptural study, and that a first impulse might be given by following, even with unequal steps, the example of the early Reformers, by publishing a version of the Bible from the originals, and that to such a version, prepared with the utmost care, a Commentary should be attached, constructed on the following plan:—

1. To exhibit with brevity, and not in controversial style, the truths essential to vital godliness, substantiated by scriptural proofs, so as to exhibit a mass of textual evidence on every point, which could not be controverted by mere isolated passages, but must be met by a reference to the whole Bible; which is just what they shun, and we desire.

2. To make constant reference to the original text; asserting its superiority to the Romish Vulgate, and its exclusive authenticity. This would excite the curiosity of some who might be induced to learn the languages of the original; and thus would originate a line of study which would raise a few, at least, above the trite polemics now in vogue, and, serving to dis-

* The Professor of Hebrew in the University of Madrid, who had, I think, *three pupils!* could not recognise, as I understood him, one of the well-known works contained in Professor Lee's *Sylloge Librorum Orientalium.*

close the uselessness of that spurious theology, leave their minds free to obey the impulse of a superior kind of study.

3. To vindicate from misinterpretation the passages usually cited in support of Romanism.

4. To defend the Bible against the cavils of infidels, by suitable exposition of the passages which they most abuse, and to commend it to the respect of those who, having been required to take it on the credit of their Church, regard it rather as an obscure *Church-book*, than as of divine revelation, and as constituting in itself a divine authority.

5. And thus to shift the ground of controversy in such a manner as to confer a benefit on the controversialists, by leading them close to the fountain of divine truth.

Here was the plan of an extensive work, such as the most competent person could not produce amidst the constantly-increasing cares and labours of a foreign Mission, and which could not be printed but by the outlay of a large sum of money. My time was divided between pastoral duties and public ministrations, and the humbler, yet necessary, work of teaching little children the first elements of reading in their native language; and on three different occasions, for several months together, in inspecting the operations of masons, carpenters, &c., in erecting the buildings of the Mission, and in defraying various expenses with a difficulty and anxiety not to be understood by any one who has not sustained a burden of the kind, and which I should tremble at the apprehension of again incurring. However, I resolved to endeavour to realize a part of the plan, and immediately set about the translation and annotation of the four Gospels, as the portion of the sacred volume to be preferred on many accounts; and, after many hinderances and consequent delay, the book was brought out of press in Gibraltar, in June,

1841, and so arranged, that if nothing further of the kind should be effected for the present, it may be used as a manual of easy reference on every subject of importance, either by the Spanish student, or by Missionaries engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the language, with a view to the exercise of their ministry among an infidel and Popish population. My views with regard to this first attempt to introduce evangelical comment, and a taste for biblical literature into Spain, may be shown by translating the last paragraph of the Preliminary Discourse.

"Finally, I render thanks to God, who has permitted me to bring this little essay to a conclusion, be its merit what it may, endeavouring to contribute something to the religious instruction of the Spaniards, to whom I desire to devote all that may remain to me of life and means. I pray him to afford it his holy blessing, that his Spirit may so influence the hearts of the readers as to incline them to study for themselves the sacred code of the religion of Jesus Christ, that they may yield to the unanswerable proofs of its truth, enjoy the consolations of his grace, and become heirs of eternal glory. And again I pray him very fervently that he would deign to raise up many free and pious Spaniards, full of the Holy Spirit and of faith, who, in spite of intolerance, may proclaim the pure Christianity of the Gospel among their fellow-citizens; thus diffusing the light of religious truth in the country where, almost more than in any other called Christian, its total extinction is to be feared; and that by his divine mercy he would awaken the people from the lethargy of indifference and sin in which it is overwhelmed."

Towards the close of the same year (1835) I made an attempt, for that time unsuccessful, yet not uninteresting, nor, it is to be hoped, altogether fruitless, to extend our Mission into one of the neighbouring

towns; and a brief statement of the circumstances will serve as a point of comparison with the more favourable time which followed. On the 17th of November I took possession of two or three rooms which I had hired in San Roque, at a trifling monthly rent, with the intention of making a weekly visit, and endeavouring to obtain a few hearers there. San Roque is a small town, about one league from Gibraltar, and may contain about three thousand inhabitants. A man and his wife, who, during their residence of a few months in Gibraltar, had fallen under the influence of the word of God, and joined our communion, had gone thither to take up their abode, and it became my duty to visit them. After a few interviews, which might be considered as preparatory, and at each of which I exhorted and prayed with a few persons, it became desirable to carry my object more fully into effect. Meanwhile a rumour got abroad, and was communicated to me by a friend, that orders had been issued by a Spanish authority, prohibiting my entrance into the country by the usual way; and requiring that, if found in the country, I should be arrested. Still I prosecuted the accustomed visits without interruption until December 29th, when the meaning of that rumour was discovered.

A woman, who had often been present in our Spanish congregation in Gibraltar, had visited me there, shed many tears during sermons, and professed great friendship, had been introduced to my acquaintance, and invited me to visit her in San Roque. I occasionally accepted her invitation; and thinking her disposed to co-operate for the good of her neighbours, had given her a few cards of invitation for an appointed evening, to be distributed among her friends; but she delivered them to her Confessor, or to some other Priest. That evening she received me with the usual appearance of kindness, but professed great con-

cern for my safety, and not less anxiety that she should betray the cause of her fear. However, to avoid exposing myself to an attack by any evil-disposed persons, which was what I then chiefly apprehended, I went forthwith to pay a visit to the Alcalde, (the Mayor,) to whom I paid a visit of ceremony some weeks previous, and found his worship standing at his door. I no sooner appeared before him, than he desired me in a tone of authority *to go with him.* To this I unhesitatingly consented; and as we walked on through the dark streets, underwent an interrogatory: What was my object in going to San Roque? How was it, that being a foreigner, I should have known his name (Don Andres Vasquez)? Why I should have thought of calling on him? Whether I had presented myself to the police? These, and many other questions, were answered without disguise. He took me to the house of the Judge of First Instance, (Justice of the Peace,) who was not then at home. Thence I was conducted I knew not whither; but, to my surprise, we were in the house of an Ecclesiastic, the Vicar Apostolic, who immediately made his appearance, an aged, austere, iron-headed, sturdy man, but dull withal. The Alcalde set me, his prisoner, before him, stating that I was a Protestant Minister, who had some *disciples* in the town, whom I was come to *teach.* The Vicar, who knew just as much of the matter as we did, made a show of believing that they were children, and asked how many. To rectify his voluntary mistake, I replied, that they were Protestants, members of my flock, whom I had come to visit, in fulfilment of my obligation as their Pastor, in order to afford them spiritual instruction and comfort. He demanded their names. I, in turn, demanded his reason for desiring this information. To satisfy himself, he said, but not with any design of troubling them; and on receiving the assurance of the Alcalde

that they should not be in any way molested, I acceded to the demand. He would resist, he said, as long as he lived, the introduction into that part of Spain of any doctrine contrary to the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. The Alcalde then marched me back again to the Justice, as charged with the care of the public peace, which I was presumed to be disturbing. The Justice had returned home; and here I was invited to take a chair. We had scarcely been seated, when in came the military officer commanding, as cognisant of the proceedings of foreigners; and the parish Priest, as representing the ecclesiastical authority, was already in attendance. These four constituted an extraordinary tribunal, ecclesiastical, military, criminal, and civil, made up some days before in anticipation of my visit, and summoned by the Vicar to assemble that evening in order to sit in judgment on me when I should have been taken in the act of preaching, and brought before them as a culprit. The Mayor presented me to them with a short speech, setting forth the illegality of my proceedings in San Roque, and communicating the judgment of the Vicar thereon. The Justice, an agreeeble man, only between thirty and forty years of age, and therefore of a more recent school, in perfect contrast to the acerbity of the Mayor, employed a frank and courteous style, but saved the point of honour as a Magistrate, by urging that he was responsible for the observance of the law of Spain, which prohibited the exercise of the Protestant religion; a law, be it observed, which was then undoubtedly in force. The Priest was also a young man, of pleasing address, and by no means violent; nay, his manner was rather kindly. The Commandant maintained almost unbroken silence; for such proceedings lay quite out of his line, and he was there only because the Alcalde had required his presence. The Alcalde sat in sullen silence, teazed at finding that

he had delivered his man into better hands than his own. I pleaded against the law as being iniquitous, cruel, and unjust; all which the Justice conceded, and even the Priest allowed, who told me in detail what had been going on amongst the Clerics, from the time of my first visit to the place; what were the orders of the Bishop of Cadiz to the Vicar of San Roque, and of the Vicar to them; and he displayed the skill of the Priests in their department of spiritual police, by repeating to me my own proceedings and arrangements. However, they thought the matter might be quietly settled, by my pronouncing but just one single word,—*Desisto*, "I desist." To that proposal I objected, that such an engagement was impossible; that "necessity was laid on me to preach the Gospel," by an authority infinitely superior to that of Bishop, Pope, or even Inquisition, if such a thing existed; that the authority communicated by this commission extended so far, that I should preach it anywhere in the whole world, Spain, of course, included, if in that country I could possibly exercise my ministry. The conversation then became general, and lasted for about two hours, much to the annoyance of the Mayor; and, as we arose to separate, the Justice politely placed his house at my *disposal*, which is the usual form of a general invitation. I was walking down stairs, when he was reminded that he had not finished his work; so he ran after me and called me back, for which he apologized, but asked whether I intended to preach that evening. I replied, that I feared the detention to so late an hour had rendered it impracticable. Would I object to his going with me to see?—By no means: I should be happy of the honour of his company. So each functionary present flung his ample cloak around his shoulders, and we moved off in a body,—war, law, justice, and divinity,—lit by the moon, which had risen and mounted high during the proceedings of the evening, and illumined

streets where no lamp glimmers, nor any scavenger performs his office, but where all is impurity and gloom. Thus we went, and reached my apartments, where not a creature was visible, except the poor people of the house, who looked not a little terrified at the nocturnal visitation of all the AUTHORITIES of San Roque. I then invited my guests to sit down, and we had a long conversation about the advantages of toleration, to which all agreed except my friend the Mayor, who gave no vote. "But," they asked me, "how should the affair be settled?" I replied, that, according to the New Testament, we were bound to respect the *civil* power, when persons invested with that authority did not lose their proper character by taking orders from Ecclesiastics, who were bound to obey, but not empowered to command; that as the authorities then present were acting for the Bishop of Cadiz, and not for the country, I could not enter into any bond whatever as to my future proceedings; that I was sorry for the humiliating position in which they were placed; but to show my entire respect for their office, and especially towards the Mayor, as Chief Magistrate of the town, I would engage, that the next time I might come to San Roque, I would pay *him* my first visit, leaving it to himself thereafter to ascertain my movements, if he pleased so to do. To this they all agreed, commended the principles I had avowed, and we shook hands and parted.

But after this it was evidently impracticable to obtain a hearing in San Roque; and my stated visits, therefore, were discontinued.

Deeming it improper to allow such an act of direct persecution to pass without remonstrance, I forwarded a statement of the case to Don Pedro Gonzalez Vallejo, at that time President of the Chamber of Próceres, and afterwards Archbishop elect of Toledo, to be laid by him, *as President of the Próceres*, before the Queen,

in behalf of the individuals there exposed to the effect of persecuting laws, although both were foreigners, the man a Piedmontese, and his wife an Italian. The President did not commit himself by a written answer; but it was gratifying to observe, that the Mayor above-mentioned was induced to deport himself in a very different manner, and that the Protestants suffered no persecution whatever on account of their religious profession, which they avowed openly, as they had done from the beginning. On the contrary, they were treated with good looks and fair words. But Popish Priests well understand their calling, and can impose penance in ten thousand ways. Things went on smoothly for upwards of four years, during which time the political state of Spain was greatly improved; but the old Vicar kept his pledge to *resist* the introduction of Protestantism. He produced an anonymous letter, threatening him with assassination; and he professed to believe that Nicolas Lovero, the Piedmontese, was the author. The poor man produced favourable testimonials as to his character; but they availed not. He pleaded his inability to write a Spanish letter in the style of that one; but that was not admitted. He must have written, or caused it to be written; and he was imprisoned on suspicion, until the change of affairs at the emigration of Christina, when he was liberated, in common with some others; but on the accession to office of another Judge of First Instance, he was thrown into prison again on the same account, without any form of trial, nor one moment's warning to place him on the defensive.* This fact is mourn-

* The protracted imprisonment of an innocent man is by no means uncommon in Spain. In the early part of the regency of Christina, her government officially acknowledged that there were then in prisons, in all parts of the country, persons who had been confined for years without being able to obtain a trial; and that numerous Spaniards had died in prison after many

fully instructive, and shows what treatment Protestants may expect in Spain, so long as a Priest can find a corrupt Magistrate, and a doubloon with which to bribe him; and so long, it must be added, as Great Britain remains indifferent as to our fate among the Spaniards. But to return: Seeing that the Bishop of Cadiz and his Clergy had openly assumed a posture of hostility to the Gospel, I felt that Protestants were bound so much the more to raise and to prosecute an incessant practical protest against the laws which were appealed to against them, and to persevere with Christian faithfulness in exercising, and even in endeavouring to spread, the religion of the Gospel, until those laws should be abrogated. And in little more than a year after the affair of San Roque, I had the satisfaction of seeing a fundamental change for the better in Spanish legislation, which shall be related in the proper place.

This year was distinguished by some important measures of reform. A Board of Public Instruction was appointed in each town, to consist of four persons, three being laymen, one only a Priest. Had the Romish Priests been true Christian Pastors, so public and general a mark of distrust as was implied in depriving them of the office of educating the youth of the country, which they had exercised from time immemorial, must have drawn down upon its authors the reprobation of every good man. But the Spaniards had too well ascertained that the lambs of the flock should not be intrusted to those mercenary shepherds, who taught the rising youth doctrines of subversion and disaffection to the civil power. A Lancasterian school was established in Madrid. It was ill supported at first; for even the masters were left to starve without the payment of their stipulated salaries. When I saw this normal school in the metropolis of Spain, it only

years' close confinement, whose innocence had been afterwards proved, and legally declared!

contained seventy boys; but the institution gradually improved; and in a Report made in 1840 or 1841, it was said that there were two hundred and ten boys. Here is progress. Before 1835 no man could practise as a surgeon, nor as a professional barber, (!) who did not, on oath, profess to believe in the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; and the descendants of those who had been pronounced infamous by the Inquisition, could not be admitted to hold public offices, nor allowed to exercise the learned professions. Hence an affectation of religious zeal, and of faith in all the fooleries of Popery, was rendered expedient, in order to secure a respectable standing in society, with any prospect of temporal success. This was felt to be oppressive; and the costly proofs of *purity of blood*, even when to be had by any one on payment of the fees, were complained of as an unreasonable imposition. Wherefore Her Majesty resolved, that, for the future, proof of purity of blood should not be required in order to obtain employment in Government offices, or licence for qualified persons to practise the liberal arts; and made it sufficient to produce instead thereof a baptismal certificate, attesting legitimacy of birth, the applicant also producing evidence of good character. This is easily managed in Spain, where characters are cheap in such cases, and where nominal fathers figure in the church registers instead of real ones. The "holy, royal, and ancient fraternities" of Ciudad Real, Talavera, and Toledo had existed for many centuries. They were bodies of armed men, authorized to scour the country; and, without being subject to the intervention of any other authority, might seize and imprison disorderly persons; or, in other words, they were highwaymen, licensed to kidnap whom they pleased. These fraternities were abolished, the members deprived of their dangerous immunities, and the prisons made the property of the public. That which had been

sold during the Constitutional period, but taken from the purchasers by a decree of Ferdinand, was now restored to them. The Monks were declared ineligible to be employed as teachers of youth, and it was strictly forbidden that any scholastic establishment should be formed in monasteries. The *Juntas de Fé*, or ecclesiastical courts of inquisition, held by Bishops in their several diocesses, in which the forms of the Inquisition itself were observed, and as much as practicable of the murderous cruelty of that tribunal had been exercised, with a similar observance of secrecy, were annihilated; and it was ordained, that causes of religion should be tried openly, and that the parties accused should have full benefit of publicity, of defence, and of appeal to a civil court, although the laws of the Partidas, already referred to, were unhappily preserved in force. The order of Jesuits was again extinguished; and as this proceeding was one of paramount importance, a copy of the decree for its extinction may be interesting to the reader, and is translated in the Appendix. (No. VI.)

To prevent the Jesuits from becoming schoolmasters, and so lodging themselves among the youth, all public scientific and educational establishments, and even private schools, were placed under the immediate cognizance of Government authorities.

But not only the Jesuits, the whole body of Monastics was to be dissolved; and that not by the act of a few intriguing or powerful opponents, high in office, but in obedience to the sentence of the nation, simultaneously pronounced, and with a rapidity which, if it fulfilled the wishes of the rulers, yet aroused their fears. The spirit of the Monks was broken. They were the burden of every ballad, and the butt of every jest. Their adherence to the cause of the Pretender exposed them to the hatred of the loyal part of the people, and to general suspicion. The public were not propitiated by

the suppression of the Jesuits, but demanded the extinction of all the orders. The Ministers, fearing that this would be too bold a stroke, enforced certain canons, which require that not fewer than twelve persons should constitute a monastic community; and as the number had been diminished even below twelve in more than nine hundred convents, these were suppressed, the buildings, ground, and other property appropriated to the State, and the persons allowed to take refuge in other convents of their respective orders. But this tender and cautious method, far from giving satisfaction to any party, excited general discontent. The Government was suspected of connivance with the regular Clergy, and of having designedly preserved for them the most valuable of their possessions. The results of this discontent were popular tumults, in which the Friars were the sufferers; and in the town of Reus, in Catalonia, for example, two monasteries, Franciscan and Carmelite, were burnt down, and eleven or twelve Friars perished. Government strove in vain to quell the rising fury. On the 15th of August there was a great riot at Madrid. It was suppressed by force, and the city placed under martial law. Provincial Boards of Government were set up all over the kingdom, each Board ruling its own province independently of the supreme authority, and all were unanimous in claiming more liberty. A few other convents were suppressed; but this did not suffice. The Ministry was changed, and the new Cabinet came into office under the pledge to make various concessions; and, among others, to suppress the monasteries.

The protection extended to the ex-Friars was honourable to the nation. Abhorred as they were, and not without cause, they were not set adrift without provision. The Bishops were exhorted, by a circular, to give all possible preference to those who were in orders, in electing candidates to parochial offices. A

daily allowance of from three to five reals was assigned to those who could not be otherwise provided for; and because this was not fully paid, the "Liberals" have been charged with dishonesty. Doubtless there is too much truth in the charge; but this does not affect the merits of constitutional liberty in Spain. As to honesty, it may be fairly assumed, that all parties are about equal in the share they may possess respectively of the little stock of honesty which perhaps exists among them. Let it be borne in mind, however, that neither were the soldiers, nor the soldiers' widows and orphans, paid their due. The resources of the country were exhausted, and the administrators of all offices, whether high or low, were demoralized, first by Popery, with which sound morality cannot consist, nor ever has consisted, (I speak of communities, ready to except the few honest men that may be found, *rari nantes*, in those communities,) and then yet more grossly demoralized by civil war.

To keep down the still exorbitant number of Priests, and to leave vacancies open to the ex-Friars, the Bishops were *absolutely forbidden* to ordain any more persons to the priesthood who had not been already admitted as Sub-Deacons; and this measure nearly sufficed to divert the whole of the Spanish youth from all prospect of following that calling. And as the vacancies left by death or emigration have not been filled up by young men, but by ex-Friars, who are in general elderly persons, the priestly body already wears a remarkable appearance of old age and inefficiency.

After those preparatory measures, and repeated and manifold warnings, the final stroke was levelled at the upas of monasticism in Spain, on the 11th of October, 1835, a day to be had in everlasting remembrance for the salutary example then displayed in view of those countries where the alien fraternities, paying

avowed allegiance to an Italian Sovereign, are allowed to exist. I say, *allowed to exist*. Many persons may demur at this sentence as intolerant; but such would do well to consider whether a boundary should not be set between religious liberty, and the confusion of all national distinctions. Even when Friars were dead in law, they were not harmless. Nay, by a fiction of their own, once allowed by our Legislature, that they were dead to the world, they were in effect more free to do mischief than any other men; for it stands good always, that "the law hath dominion over a man" (only) "so long as he liveth." And whatever may be now or hereafter the legal position of the Monks in the British dominions, it must be borne in mind, that their association, in exclusion from what they call "the world," meaning the whole circle of civil relations and duties, and their existence in entire subjection to the Generals of their orders, who reside at Rome, and constitute a part of that Court,—removes them, in all the details of their personal and civil existence, from restraint in the country where they are established; while they can accumulate property, influence, and virtually *power*, to be employed at any opportune juncture for the purpose of dismembering themselves from the State of which they are a part. The novice in a monastery may indeed be an Englishman at heart; but as those communities gather strength and increased number, the spirit of patriotism dies away. Their attachment to the branches of their communities abroad, and to their Chiefs at Rome, strengthens in a corresponding ratio; and thus we shall at some time find it to our sorrow that communities of *aliens*, and eventually *enemies*, have been fostered among us. Spain proceeds more wisely, as did Portugal for a time, justly regarding the subject of monasticism as political rather than religious.

But to return. The decree for the suppression of

monasteries is long, and chiefly contains provisions and guarantees dictated by prudence and humanity; so that it is not necessary to describe or extract from it here. The change was instantaneous. A great part of the monasteries were simultaneously vacated. The Friars had their beards shaven, bought or begged common apparel; and from that time it has been unlawful to appear in any one of those multiform habiliments which once gave so grotesque an appearance to the throngs that were seen in the streets and gardens of Spanish towns, and added number and show to their pompous processions on festive days.

The reform did not terminate here; and had it extended to externals only, it would have been most insufficient. The seats of learning were to be delivered from the sway of those doctrines of sacerdotal prerogative which are embodied in the sciences of Romanised theology and canon law; and the Government, therefore, assumed the entire and exclusive control of the Universities; and the tribunals of justice were elevated to their right position by a royal decree, subjecting Ecclesiastics to the secular Magistrate. Clergymen prosecuted for such offences as would render them liable to capital punishment, perpetual banishment, or hard labour in the mines, galleys, public works, or arsenals, were to be subject to the same administration of justice as other citizens; it being enjoined, however, on the respective Judges and courts, that clerical delinquents should be placed in the most decent parts of the prisons, and treated with so much lenity and respect as should be consistent with their safe keeping. The diocesan Prelate should be called on to degrade from the priestly office persons condemned to suffer any of the above-mentioned punishments; but if he did not degrade the culprit within six days after the passing of the sentence, it was then to be carried into effect notwithstanding. Care was

also taken to preserve the people from the noxious influence of seditious Priests; wherefore, candidates for benefices, curacies, chaplaincies, &c., were required to produce a certificate of good political conduct from the civil Governor of the province: a measure fully justified by the fact that, at that time, "political conduct" meant either loyalty to the existing Government, or a state of open and armed rebellion, or at least an abetting of those who were in that state; and by the fact, that many Priests, if not under arms in the service of Don Carlos, were promoting his cause by all the co-operation they could render. The light in which these decisive proceedings were viewed at Rome, shall be stated by the Pope himself, in a document hereafter to be cited.

This fatal blow being inflicted on Popery, it was again judged necessary to make the usual display of orthodoxy, which might pass in consistence with the prevalent notion, that the discipline and doctrine of the Church are distinct and independent, that men may kill the body of Popery without hurting its soul. Plausible as this may sound among Spanish innovators, or British latitudinarians, the Court of Rome understands the matter too well to admit the fallacy. The palliative to Romanism attempted at this time by the Cortes was contained in a law on the liberty of the press, by which, while perfect freedom was allowed for writings in general, those treating of religion were excepted. This was a stratagem like that of the Cortes of 1813, who, after they had suppressed the Inquisition, established tribunals protective of the faith by way of compensation to the Church.

As this law of 1835 is still in force, it is important that all who are interested in enlightening Spain by means of books, should keep it in view; and it is, therefore, set before them now.

The Commission appointed to prepare the project of

law of the press, after recognising the right of Spaniards to publish their opinions without the restraint of previous censure, goes on to say :—

"There is established but one exception, already marked by the laws which emanated from the extraordinary Cortes of Cadiz, and from those of the year twenty, relative to writings on the doctrines of our religion, and on the sacred Scripture. The particular circumstances of the Spanish people, the firm adherence by which they are distinguished to the doctrines which they profess, and their invincible aversion from whatever might change them, render necessary this prudent circumspection which was observed by former Congresses ; and, it is to be expected, will also be observed by the present, when deliberating on this important subject. But although writings of this class are submitted to the licence of the Ordinaries, according to the ecclesiastical laws, still, that the Prelates may not go too far in the exercise of this faculty, to the prejudice of the writers, the means to which they may have recourse in such cases are pointed out in their proper place, and the Commission think that they are fully protected from every sort of unjust influence exerted to their prejudice, (*prevencion injusta,*) and from all arbitrary dealing."

The law relating to books on religion is as follows :—

"TIT. VIII. OF WORKS WHICH TREAT OF RELIGION AND THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

"*Art.* 68. Works which by art. ii., tit. 1, are subject to the licence of the Ordinaries, in order to their publication, shall be presented to them to that effect, and they shall not refuse the licence without accompanying the refusal by a due account of their examination of the work, and judgment thereon.

"*Art.* 69. A copy of this judgment shall be communicated to the author or editor, in order that, if he

be not satisfied therewith, he may reply, requesting a second review.

"*Art.* 70. Should this again be contrary to the work, the party concerned may appeal to the Government, who, consulting with the Privy Council on the subject, shall resolve definitively as may be judged best."

This law is not found to answer the liberal intention of its framers, and is not likely to be in force much longer. And I may just mention an incident as illustrative of the heartlessness with which Spaniards set about enforcing intolerant laws. Some time ago I presented myself at the gate of one of their cities with two copies of my "Gospels." The Chief Officer pronounced that they were so bad, that they should be sent to the Custom-house to be burned. I remonstrated against such a discreditable proceeding as that of burning the "Gospels." At this he became very angry, affecting to believe, that we burn Roman Catholic books in our Custom-houses; and it was but right that they should retaliate. Then he cooled down just enough to allow, that I should export them the next morning; but after night-fall he took them into the city with his own hand, and politely forwarded them to me. His abhorrence of heresy was assumed for the occasion; his kindness was genuine; and both the disguise and the good-will were characteristic.

CHAPTER VI.

1836. Visit to Cadiz—Number of British and American Seamen and Inhabitants there—Don Pedro Urquinaona—Visit to Malaga—Mr. Consul Mark—Examples of idolatrous Worship of the Virgin—Mystic Trifling of the Monks—Incidents of Journey to Granada—Observations on the State of Society—Corpus-Christi Day—Liberal Priest—Opening of the Cadiz Mission—Events consequent on the Suppression of Monasteries—Further Restrictions laid on the Clergy—Reforms—Struggle of Absolutism with the Spirit of Liberty—Revival of the Constitution of 1812.

DURING this year arrangements were made for the extension of our Mission into Spain. In order to ascertain the post most eligible for occupation in the neighbouring provinces, I visited Cadiz, Malaga, and Granada.

From May 16th to 18th, inclusive, I was in Cadiz, inquiring as to the number and circumstances of British subjects and other foreign Protestants there; and ascertained that during the preceding twelve months there had been registered at the British Consulate,

British vessels,	253	Crews,	2,400
American ditto,	79	Ditto,	902
	332		3,302

These vessels remained in the port from two to six weeks, and even much longer, waiting for cargoes. Besides the 3,302 British and American seamen in the bay, there were several British subjects resident in Cadiz; and adding to these, American, German, and other Protestant foreigners, the number, even as it was reported, could not be lower than 3,600, or 3,700, persons. But there has always been a large number

of natives of Gibraltar which are not included in this estimate. To these again must be added many others resident in Port St. Mary, Xeres, &c., with whom a Missionary might hold profitable intercourse or correspondence. And since that time the number of English has much increased, not only in Cadiz, but in a much larger proportion elsewhere, especially in the mining districts. Among all those at Cadiz, the only religious observance was the reading of prayers, and a sermon, at the Consulate, when the arrival of the weekly packet, or other similar circumstance, did not prevent; and the attendance was but small. No pastoral care whatever could be rendered to our countrymen, nor was any Christian instruction given to their children. It therefore appeared desirable, that a Missionary should reside there to shepherd the neglected flock, exercising his ministry towards them by undisputed right, and watching, at the same time, for opportunities to make the Gospel known to the inhabitants of the city, and circulating the holy Scriptures and religious books as extensively as possible. During that short visit my time was fully occupied in conversations with various persons, tending to guide me in the formation of plans for future operations to be submitted to the Missionary Committee in London.

Among the persons to whom I was introduced was Don Pedro Urquinaona, at that time Governor of Cadiz. He is well known in Spain as a tried friend of civil and religious liberty. He is author of a work intituled, "Spain under the arbitrary Power of the Apostolic Congregation," of which he gave me a copy, (afterwards pilfered at the Custom-house, together with Fra Paolo's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*,) and which is a valuable record of the proceedings of Ferdinand and the priesthood, from 1820 to 1832. He has also written an important pamphlet, published in 1841, on "The Civil Power in Matrimonial Impedi-

ments and Dispensations," maintaining that the civil power has authority to decide as to the legitimacy of marriages, and arraying against the Pope's pretensions to the contrary the ancient laws and usages of Spain. He is Doctor in Canon Law, possesses much erudition of a better sort than that furnished by the Faculty of which he is a member, and is therefore quite at home on all such subjects. He had been long an emigrant, and was honoured by the Cortes with the title of *Bene-meritus*, and has the confidence of liberal Spaniards in general. I was indebted to him not only for the pleasure of some very interesting conversation, but for the distinct assurance, that should I take up my abode in Cadiz, I should have his constant protection as long as he might be Governor, and be free to proceed as I pleased in professing and propagating our religious principles, excepting only that I might not assemble a public congregation of Spaniards, which, according to the law then in full force, but, as he hoped, soon to be abrogated, could not be allowed by him. The incompatibility of this law with the constitution afterwards promulged will be noticed in the proper place.

My visit to Malaga and Granada was instructive, and led me to enlarge the number of my acquaintance in the country; but the door of usefulness was not so clearly open in either of those places as in Cadiz. A few recollections of the journey may not be uninteresting.

As there was no road between Cadiz and the towns eastward, I was obliged to return to Gibraltar in order to prosecute the journey. After lying at anchor five hours in the Bay of Malaga, at a few yards' distance from the wharf, we were visited by the health-boat, and admitted to *pratique*. Using an introduction to a merchant there, I soon found that the English resident in Malaga, like those of Cadiz, were totally indif-

ferent to religion, and had gradually accommodated themselves to the idolatrous and immoral customs of the place. One of them remarked, in his simplicity, that the Catholic religion was "beautiful," meaning that its ceremonies were entertaining; and there are too many instances of Englishmen and Scotchmen who have given their preference to *the beautiful religion*.

The most interesting incident in Malaga was an introduction to the acquaintance of William Mark, Esq., (mentioned in a former chapter,) then British Consul-General, a true Englishman, a friend of Spain, and a thorough Protestant. Twenty-two years had elapsed since his settlement in the country. From the very first, when not protected by any privilege of office, merely as a private gentleman, he had held open family worship at his house, and read prayers every Lord's day with as many as would join him, in spite of messages, and, I believe, even threats, from the ecclesiastical authorities. He would not resign his inalienable right as an Englishman, nor be deterred from the performance of his duty as a Christian, and head of a family, by any of those foolish fears which people have, or pretend to have, in similar situations. And he lost nothing by this conscientious discharge of duty. He acquired the confidence of many of the leading men, during the long struggle for political freedom, and availed himself of their friendship to promote a feeling favourable to the best interests of the nation. He aided the Constitutional cause with as lively a zeal as if it were his own; and, co-operating by the resources placed at his disposal by the British Government, preserved Malaga from being pillaged by the bands of the Carlist General, Gomez. For this and other services he was publicly thanked by the Ministers in the Cortes at Madrid, and received from the Queen Governess the cross of Isabel the Catholic.

The appearance of Malaga was any thing but pleasing. Judging from incidental conversations with persons whom I met there, it would seem that ignorance and bigotry prevailed to an extraordinary degree. However, there was the most entire freedom of speech, which nothing can now prevent; and the downfal of Popery was remarkably apparent. Every thing partook of one prevailing appearance of wretchedness. In politics, the mass of the inhabitants were said to be republican and furious. Murders, committed by day and by night, on persons high and low, had been lamentably frequent. With respect to religion, there appeared to be nothing beyond heartless formality, or dark fanaticism, among those who frequented the churches; but infidelity was in the ascendant. It were endless to set about recounting the marks of idolatry and falsehood which were visible on every side; but I preserved, as a specimen, copies of three inscriptions, among many others which were on the walls of a vacated convent. They are the following:—

THE FIRST.

Dulce María, cándida azuzena,
Lirio entre espinas, siempre fresca rosa,
Estrella que al sol ciñe, al mar serena fuente,
Que arroyos de piedad rebosa;
Ave de gracia y de hermosura llena,
De Dios intacta madre, hija, y esposa,
Vuelve, á nosotros, ó clemente, ó pía,
Los dulces ojos, y tu auxilio envía.

THE SECOND.

Si con vehemencia la pasion te enoja,
Si con rigor la tentacion te oprime,
Si cualquier dolencia te congoja,
De María á las puertas llama y gime.

Allí todos tus males con fé arroja,
Su nombre interponiendo, que la intime
Ser su piedad y auxilio soberano,
El fiel refugio del linaje humano.

THE THIRD.

Si pretendes hallar á Dios propicio,
La proteccion invoca de María ;
Ella, para evitar el precipicio,
Es la benigna estrella que nos guía.
Es quien quebranta la cerviz del vicio,
Es per quien gracia el cielo nos envía,
Y, en fin, per quien feliz el ser humano
Tiene á Dios por amigo y por hermano.

The following translation, in which the sense of the original is expressed, without, as I believe, any deviation, will serve to show that the ascription of the names and attributes of the divine nature to the Virgin Mary, hailing her as Saviour of mankind, both in prose and verse, is by no means peculiar to the writers of hymns and prayers whose productions are already made familiar to English readers :—

THE FIRST.

O thou sweet Mary, lily fair,
Iris 'midst thorns, e'er fragrant rose,
Star on the sun's orb, glittering there,
Clear fountain whence pure ocean flows ;
Thou source of pity's healing streams,
Replete with grace and beauty's beams ;
God's virgin *mother*, *daughter*, *spouse*,
O gentle, pious, mark our vows
With thy sweet eyes, whence succour flows.

THE SECOND.

Should urgent passion thee distress,
Should fierce temptation thee oppress,
Should any sickness give thee pain,
Suppliant at Mary's gates complain.

There all thy ills with faith lay down,
Pleading her name ; for that makes known
Her sovereign aid and pitying grace,
Sure refuge for the human race.

THE THIRD.

If God propitious thou would'st find,
Mary's protection now entreat ;
She, as a star in midnight, kind,
From ruin warns our erring feet.
'Tis she who breaks the power of sin,
And grace from heaven to us doth send ;
Through her, mankind do enter in
To God, their Brother and their Friend.

The walls of the convent from which these rhymes were copied were also ornamented with symbolical paintings. Now, as symbolical paintings have their admirers, and, not being objects of worship, may be innocently, as some think, and even profitably, adopted in places of worship by Christians, I will venture to add one to the collection, which may not yet have been thought of, or at least not published. If it be not classical, it is at least ecclesiastical ; and, if the authority cited in my note be correct, it is orthodox. In the refectory of the monastery, these symbolical tracings enriched the walls, that the good Fathers, eating in silence, might be helped, by medium of the eye, to profitable meditations ; and, among others, just over one of the doors within was painted a split fish, on a gridiron, with a fire underneath. The fish was curled up and twisted, as if it felt the flame ; and over it were painted the words, *Piscis assus, Christus passus*, which, as a matter *interioris disciplinæ*, I presume not to lay before the vulgar eye. The learned reader, should such an one honour these pages with perusal, will recognise the allusion, and perceive, what probably

the Monks knew not, that it is a refinement of the old idea, suggested by the initials of the following sentence: "Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιος Σωτηρ'—ΙΧΘΥΣ. FISH!* But I leave the symbols, and return to realities.

A slow but pleasant journey, by waggon, (a covered waggon being the vehicle best adapted, and generally preferred, for travelling between the two cities of Granada and Malaga,) gave me a good opportunity of rambling over the country, talking with many persons, and observing something of the social condition of the people. Our caravan consisted of two Priests, two students, on their way to the University of Granada, three persons of inferior class, and myself, besides two or three drivers, and pedestrians, who from time to time slackened their pace, for the sake of joining us, and making up a stronger party, by way of guarding against accidents. As we passengers lay in the waggon, (for in this posture *galera* passengers are conveyed, each one being usually provided with a narrow mattress for his own accommodation, the luggage being closely packed underneath, so that sitting-room is not left,) conversation became controversial, and the Priests grew violent; for as they said they had not studied theology, they had no arguments to make use of. The company lay in silence, as laymen ought to do, listening to our *pros* and *contras*, until the Priests assumed the language of authority, and were abusive besides. While I lay waiting until they should rave themselves out of breath, the driver, who, like all the rest, had kept silence, very significantly showed them the butt-end of his whip; at which the passengers simultaneously rose on them, and administered such

* *Nos pisciculi secundum ιχθυν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur; nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.* (Tertullian, cited by Bingham, lib. i., cap. i., sect. 2, *note*.)

wholesome, although not very delicate, advice, as effectually silenced them, and kept them quiet afterwards. This incident led to much conversation, as we made our short cuts over the hills on foot; by which I found that these people had read, some of them, the Bible, and others, the publications of the Tract Society; and that all were better disposed to listen to the conversation of a Protestant, and to solicit information from him, than to be disturbed by the angry dogmatism of their own Priests.

At twelve o'clock on the second day, we reached Loja, a considerable market-town. As the main street was impassable on wheels, because of the dilapidation of the pavement, we lightened the waggon, and walked forward. It being just the time for midday mass, the party turned into the principal church, inviting me to accompany them. All hands except mine were dipped into the "blessed water;" and the man who crossed himself in the most masterly manner, was one whose lewd conversation had nearly excluded him from our company, and kept him with the driver only. The church was plain, very unlike those of the large cities; but it was spacious and lofty, and remarkable for being well attended. I walked into the middle of the nave; others, walking in, dropped on their knees, close together, and in a few moments made up one compact mass from the chancel to the porch. Elsewhere I had always seen large numbers of those on the outskirts of the congregation on their feet during the elevation of the host; but here all knelt, and remained kneeling from the first, until a profound, death-like silence prevailed. Then their eyes were simultaneously raised towards the roof. Then was heard a faint murmur, as of confession, or prayer. It gradually strengthened. Each person with closed hand beat his bosom, applying a measured stroke just on the middle of the

breast-bone, where the thoracic arch can receive it, if the body be robust, as theirs are, without any inconvenience; for in Popery every gesticulation is studied.* This produced a hollow, cadaverous sound, with a forcible emission of the breath; and from the whole multitude arose a noise with which the roofs reverberated: an inimitably distressing sound, for which I find no name. As this was going on, the little bell tinkled, and the officiating Priest turned towards the dense assemblage, bearing the host above his head. The noise of the penance increased. The eyes of the people fell on me, as I, the only person erect, stood in the midst of them. They flashed sudden indignation. Again the bell rang, but violently, as a signal. The whole mass began to undulate, each one restless, and half-rising from his place, while yet the spell (for it was the moment of adoration) bound him on his knees. Here and there murmurs from the remote corners of the building sounded, as demands for my expulsion. To kneel would have sufficed to restore silence; *but that was impossible.* I felt an indescribable sensation of horror, and confess that it was not unaccompanied by fear; but horror, pity, and indignation, at the sight of unmixed idolatry, conducted on so large a scale, predominated over fear. I turned me to observe if there were any passage through the con-

* Perhaps this cannot be illustrated better than by looking over the *Ritus servandus in Celebratione Missæ*, forming part of the Romish Missal, where minute direction is given for the management of the fingers, severally or all together, the thumbs, palms of the hands, eyes, feet, &c. Indeed, the rubrics and ceremonials of that Church so abound in matters of this kind, prescribing, to the minutest movement, the whole mockery of devotion, that no one who has but glanced over those directories can be affected by the appearance of reverential awe, which is assumed by the Priests, and the better-drilled part of the people, when they appear in public.

gregation, by which to effect a retreat. Those near me shuffled on one side, so did others, until I reached the door, by which time the uproar subsided, and, without any further molestation, I issued from the den, and breathed with gratitude the fresh air of heaven, where the pure sunshine, in contrast with those darkened vaults, and tapers burning at noonday, was "praising the Lord from the heavens, praising him in the heights," and moved me to adore him for his long-suffering, his tender mercy, his unfailing compassion, who makes his sun to shine and his rain to descend equally on the wicked and the good, on the just and on the unjust. As I walked forward in search of the inn where we should rest, I could not but feel thankful to God for his protection, nor fail to acknowledge the forbearance of the rude Spanish peasantry towards a stranger, notwithstanding their extreme ignorance and zeal. One of my fellow-passengers soon followed me into the inn, and said that there had been great excitement at my refusing to kneel; and that if the Priest had known that I was there, he would have had me arrested. I related to him the story of the three Hebrews; and he retired to communicate to inquirers on the outside the issue of our conversation.

In the afternoon we stopped at a post-house. A post-house, it may be observed, once for all, is a rude sort of inn, with scanty provision for travellers, and a set of stables, all enclosed within high walls, and a strong gate, so contrived, that a large number of persons might fortify themselves, and hold out for some time, against the marauding parties which too frequently infest the country; so that it is a little establishment for refuge, in which a certain degree of hospitality (I will not say, honesty) is observed towards travellers, who may lodge there with highwaymen without apprehension of danger. Before sunset I walked into the neighbouring village of Ueto del Rio.

This, like most of the villages which I have seen, is enclosed by a mud wall, and provided with dogs, in precaution against nocturnal depredations. Herds of swine, droves of oxen, and other animals, were being driven from the field to be sheltered for the night. Although the habitations of men and cattle seemed as contiguous as they could well be, there was a general appearance of cleanliness and industry. The interior of the cottages looked clean and orderly. The women were generally seated at the doors, fondling their babes, or busy with needle-work, or were collected in friendly groups from two or three adjacent doors, enjoying the cool evening air; and people generally directed kindly looks towards the loitering stranger, (unlike the men of Loja,) and some volunteered their services to show him the way through, or indulged their curiosity by getting him to talk with them. There was no appearance of intemperance or irregularity among them, but much of healthfulness and comfort.

The next day I left the waggon to lumber on its way, and walked alone towards the royal city of Granada, at leisure to enjoy my thoughts unmolested, resting now and then in a hospitable cottage; and in the afternoon, seated on a stool, messed cheaply at a village inn, where my humble garb and unshaven beard did not tempt the host to demand an exorbitant price, such as English gentlemen generally have to pay. Towards evening, untroubled by Custom-House officers, or any other of those personages who gather around travellers, I reached Granada, found out an inn bearing the sign of "St. Mary of Anguish," where I was comfortably accommodated and refreshed. But here, as formerly in Seville, a Spaniard with whom I had corresponded came, and, taking no denial, made me his guest, and introduced me to the circle of his friends. One of them was an old military officer,

who in his youth had been initiated by Volney, in France, into the sophistry of infidelity, being, as he said, a favourite disciple of his. He had seen much hard service; and, notwithstanding the avowal of infidelity which was drawn from him, seemed not to be utterly devoid of conscientious feeling. He, like thousands more, had been found out by a Volney, but never instructed by a Minister of Christ, either in France or Spain, nominally Christian countries. His account of the moral state of the latter was in exact accordance with what I had heard before, and have continually been hearing since. He said that the people in general, but especially the youth, had cast off all religion; that they observed ceremonies which they despised, merely to avoid collision with the Churchmen; that here and there a few might be found who thought seriously on such subjects, and would gladly embrace a better religion than that of the country; that this class of persons confessed their ignorance, and lamented that they had none to teach them; that very few books were read, and those few infidel and impious, but that their influence was deepening every day. He thought that a Protestant resident in Granada might do much good, by devoting himself to the instruction of young men; yet that he would need much patience to bear with their unsteadiness and idleness, and would have to begin by furnishing their minds with the very first elements of knowledge. He maintained that the most good might be done by sending good books into the country. His suggestions as to means were thus far good. But I then felt, and still feel, that, without living Evangelists, we might send Schoolmasters and books into Spain for a century, and, after all, not attain that result without which the end of Christ's coming into the world would not be answered; and that if we consult our ease, remaining at home in quiet, and

sending books without interpreters, we shall be inexcusable.

In pursuance of my constant practice, which was to place myself under the cognizance of the proper authority, I obtained an introduction the next day to the Captain-General of the province. He had been an emigrant in England, conversed in English, and was said to be an avowed advocate of religious liberty: his polite attentions fully confirmed the report. The day was spent in conversation on religious subjects; but trifling and blasphemy were so natural to the persons with whom I met, that they were incapable of perceiving any impropriety in language which to me was most disgusting; and in this respect they were an undisguised specimen of the mass of Spanish society. However, they laboured to show me all manner of kindness and respect. By virtue of an order from the Captain-General, I went through the Alhambra, and enjoyed the sight of those admirable remains of Moorish grandeur, which have retained their undiminished identity since the day when, more than three centuries and a half ago, the silver cross and royal standard succeeded the crescent on the summit of those towers. But my object was other than that of topical description, which may be found in such works as those of Murphy, Washington Irving, and Echeverria, in the *Paséos por Granada*.

Abundant materials for description were presented the following day, that being the festival of Corpus Christi, held in honour of the wafer, which is said to be the very body, blood, soul, and divinity of our blessed Saviour, and is carried through the principal streets of every town in Spain once a year, each host, or wafer, being then worshipped by thousands as the *one*, *true*, and *only God*. The city swarmed with animation; Protestant strangers also had come to Granada to pay the homage of admiration with the rest,

although Seville is the chief resort of idlers of this class. The pageant was sufficiently grand; but the procession was smaller than had been ever seen, in consequence of the absence of the Monks, who used to be all turned out to lengthen the train. However, the church-folk mustered as strongly as possible, by help of, as it was said, Priests hired for the occasion. The soldiers lined the way; and as their Deity approached, they laid down their arms and knelt. Many of them hinted their contempt by a sarcastic grin; and I heard some one say, "They are carrying the bread to the oven!" We perceived a sudden check to the procession, and some confusion a-head, which was explained when it turned out that the *custodia*, or box containing the wafer, had been so imperfectly screwed on the portable altar, that it fell off, and would have been trampled under foot, but for the agility of a Priest, who caught it. This afforded occasion for no small merriment to the mob, nay, to high as well as low; and nothing was to be heard for an hour afterwards but jests at the expense of "His Majesty," as they call the host; which might have been amusing enough, if the holy names of God and Christ had not been associated in monstrous and disgusting blasphemies. However, it served to demonstrate, that the populace of Granada did not believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was evident that they entertained little fear either of God or of the priesthood.

As soon as the host was replaced on the high altar of the cathedral, I was taken to visit a Priest of the *sagrario*, or part of the cathedral which serves as parish church, and who was awaiting an interview. I found him a liberal man, quite aware of the corruption of his Church, and demoralization of his country. He complained bitterly of the wickedness and cruelty of imposing the obligation of celibacy on the Clergy, and gave most humiliating details of the

practices of the misnamed celibates. He stated, and a numerous company of his parishioners who were present confirmed the fact, that no Priest who does not steadily cohabit with a female is regarded as a man of decent moral character, unless he be aged. At a subsequent visit, in the presence of two intimate friends of his, he brought forward a fine little girl, five or six years old, whom he put from his arms into mine, as his own child, whom, he said, he never would disown, and, under the excitement of the moment, shed tears, bewailing the hard necessity under which he was laid, and the dishonour suffered by his children (for he had an elder daughter) and their mother. He congratulated me on my happiness in belonging to a Church of which the Ministers are not so degraded and oppressed. Most of the remainder of that day, up to a late hour, was spent in affording information to this Priest as to our doctrines, intermingled with frequent exhortation to "search the Scriptures," and preach the truth as it should be ascertained from them. He exemplified his liberality in the evening in an unusual manner. We went together to the vestry of the *sagrario*, for him to prepare to solemnize a baptism. There were the father of the child, and a large company of friends. As I was introduced to them as a Protestant Priest, I followed up the introduction by showing the nature of the sacrament of baptism, and exhorting the parents to pray that their child might receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit in its influences abiding through future life; and on this my friend the Priest, to my no small surprise, offered me his robes to officiate in his stead; and could the offer have been accepted, all present would apparently have regarded the baptism as equally valid as if it had been administered by him. However, he would have me to occupy a post of honour; so, taking my arm with one hand, as he held his book with the other, he

led me into the church at the head of the procession, lit by a blaze of tapers, telling his people, that because I was a Priest as well as he, it was right that I should accompany him through all the ceremonies. As soon as these were over, I described the points of difference between their baptisms and ours; and as a numerous company were there, I was invited to step into the pulpit, and give them a specimen of a Protestant sermon. But to that request I could not concede: it would have been going rather too far in the cathedral of Granada. With much regret, I left the city on the following morning, persuaded that even in a few months much good might be done, if it were only by the conferences of a visiter with those who might desire religious information; and to information might be added exhortations which God would own, and prayers which he would answer.

A detailed journal of those visits was sent to London; and I was authorized to send our Schoolmaster, whom I recommended for that work, to endeavour to open a Mission in Cadiz. We rode round to Cadiz just before Christmas, and on the last Sunday in the year the Bethel flag was hoisted in that Bay. But the earlier proceedings of the Cadiz Mission belong to the year 1837. We have therefore to notice the public events which had relation to the prospects of Christianity in Spain during 1836.

The demolition of many old monasteries and convents, first in Madrid, and then in the provinces, gave great offence to those who might have entertained the hope of occupying or seeing them occupied again. An outcry was raised, and is still kept up, against those who advised and committed the destruction of so many works of art; as if the fabric of the State were not of more value, and the amelioration of society a work far more worthy of admiration, than the fabric of a cloister, or the decorations of a chapel. But the

Spanish Reformers, if we may give them so honourable a title, like the Scottish, well understood the practical importance of their plan; and the substitution of spacious squares, public gardens, and well-constructed market-places, for those crowded cells and over-topping walls which choked up and disfigured their towns, now contributes to their beauty, and to the health of the public; and so far as that demolition has taken place, the restoration of the old anti-social communities is rendered impossible during any period of reaction in their favour.

The civil war became daily more alarming, and the disaffection of the priesthood more confirmed. In such a state of things it was necessary to proceed with a severity which would have been improper in ordinary times; and as the body of the Clergy did not even pretend to holiness of life, but only to a magical sanctity of official character, imparted at the time of ordination, and were in all but open hostility against the commonwealth, it was indispensably necessary to ascertain which of them was and which was not a traitor. The following extract of a Decree, dated February 26th, explains itself:—"And Her Majesty the Queen Governess has seen at the same time with grief the many complaints which have been preferred against Ecclesiastics, who employ with poisonous art the weapons of the holy ministry which they exercise, seducing the incautious by their discourse in the pulpit, but chiefly in the confessional, in order that they may conspire against the laws of the State; thus turning to its damage that act which, of all others, ought to tend chiefly to its welfare, since it is then that a man makes a free disclosure of his faults, and is most disposed to receive the salutary counsels which true religion dictates. Having considered all with due deliberation, and desiring to avoid the serious evils which the abuse of the most august and peaceful

ministry causes to religion and to the State, Her Majesty has thought well to authorize the civil governors, in the districts under their respective command, not to permit those Ecclesiastics to exercise the holy functions of preaching and confession who, by their conduct and political opinions, have made it evident that they have forgotten the fidelity which they owe to their lawful Sovereign, the obligations which bind them to society and to the country in which they were born, and the sublime precepts which constitute the doctrine of the divine Master. But it is also the will of Her Majesty that, in the use of this authorization, the civil governors proceed with all the prudence, circumspection, and sobriety which an object of such high importance requires, so that the remedy which is adopted does not go beyond what the evil imperatively demands."

This Decree was published, after having taken the opinion and engaged the assent of the diocesan Prelates in general, and even the co-operation of some of them; and is a clear and authentic testimony against the accusation of an intemperate and wanton spoliation of the church which has been laid against the Spanish nation.

Monasticism heaved its last gasp on the suppression of those religious houses which had not been included under former decrees, as well as of the *Beaterias*, similar establishments of a secondary class, where devotees were associated without having entirely assumed the monastic character. Provision was made, at least in purpose, for the maintenance of the ex-cloistered, and especially of the aged; and several charitable, and really useful, institutions, although conducted by Monks or Nuns, were allowed still to exist. As for the nunneries, those which contained twenty female prisoners, or upwards, were allowed to continue as long as these might live; but it was made

unlawful to admit any more noviciates, or to have two houses of the same order in any one town. By consequence, these sisterhoods are rapidly dying a natural death.

The spirit of reform was vigorous; and, if it suited the plan of this work, many social improvements of high importance to the prosperity of the nation might be enumerated. Not remote from the interests of religion are those of humanity; and it was cheering to see the light of mercy penetrating into the dungeons of Spanish prisons, where persons, not only uncondemned, but who had never been brought to trial, had been wretchedly existing, or had miserably died after many years' endurance of vile and horrible captivity. Another of the exorbitant contributions hitherto levied by the Priests, the *Cuartilla de Santa Ana*, was abolished; as was the Company of the Mesta, which had monopolized an important branch of rural property, and deteriorated the value of all the rest:* thus hastening the happy day, (happy indeed for Spaniards!) when "every man shall sit under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid."

Meanwhile the Roman and northern Courts, the emissaries of the Pretender, a powerful party in France, the hordes of ejected Friars, the humiliated priesthood, the corrupt placemen, and necessarily a section of the public, wrought on by ancient prejudices, and shocked at witnessing the sudden annihilation of institutions which were holy and venerable in

* The *Mesta* was a corporation of graziers who possessed exclusive right to certain grounds, and the free use of roads and commons for their cattle, with officers legally empowered to judge in all affairs relating to the company. Their flocks and herds were either settled, or migratory, but ranged the country with a freedom and privilege totally incompatible with the rights of property.

their esteem, formed a strong, however incongruous, body, hostile to the advancing liberties of Spain. And who would venture to affirm, that the Queen Governess, even while working in the service of liberty, did not verge to a policy favouring despotic power, if not exercised by herself, yet indulged in by her Ministers and their dependants? Who would venture to affirm, that Christina, by birth a foreigner, licentious in her propensities, giddy with the popularity she had acquired by departing from the line of government pursued by her aged husband, then deceased, unequal to control the ambition of those around her, or even disposed to return to that style of royalty in which she had been educated, did not favour, nay, promote the re-ascendancy of principles contrary to the wishes, and hurtful to the prosperity, of the nation? All this, and perhaps much more, was generally believed. The provinces took alarm. Many of them dismissed the Governors who had been set over them. In a few instances deeds of violence, even of murderous violence, were perpetrated by excited mobs, or at the instigation of demagogues, who made good speculative principles the pretext for the vilest practices. Then ensued a struggle of parties of which it does not lie within my province to set forth the details. For about ten days Madrid was under martial law. But the intelligence, that the provinces in general had refused obedience to the men appointed over them by the Queen, and yet professed entire loyalty to her person, rendered further resistance impossible. A body of military surrounded the royal palace at Sant Ildefonso, whither Christina had retired; and a soldier, having obtained admission to her presence, presented a paper on which was written these few words: "As Queen Governess of Spain, I ordain and command that the political constitution of the year 1812 be published, until the nation, assem-

bled in Cortes, expressly make known its will, or give another constitution adapted to its necessities. At Sant Ildefonso, August 13th, 1836." The Queen was startled at the extraordinary deputy, and his demand, and objected to have any thing to do with the paper; but he told her very coolly, that it was the will of the nation that she should affix her signature. She knew it to be so, and wrote at the foot, "YO, LA REINA GOBERNADORA." The soldier hurried from her presence, held up the paper to the troops; and those nearest saw the signature still wet from the royal hand. The air was rent with *Vivas*, the intelligence was diffused over the kingdom swiftly as breathless couriers could convey it. The Provisional Boards of Government resigned instantly their temporary office. The Queen re-entered Madrid in triumph, hailed as "Mother of the Spaniards;" and for that day Spain was happy. Cortes were convoked forthwith; the year passed away, and the next began during preparations for revising the constitution of the State. This constitution deserves our careful examination, and must be known and understood by all who shall be employed in promoting the religious welfare of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

1837. First Mission Establishment in Cadiz—Opposition of the Clergy—Favourable popular Feeling—School closed by Command—Re-opened by Authority—Closed again—Debate in Cortes on the Article of the Constitution relating to Religion—Case of the Priest, Don Pascual Marin, who visits Gibraltar, is persecuted, petitions the Cortes, and is protected.

Our Schoolmaster commenced his labours in Cadiz by preaching every Sunday on board one or other of the merchant-vessels in the Bay, often to numerous companies of sailors. His time was occupied during the week by study of the Spanish language, and familiar conversations with Spaniards, in which he endeavoured to engage their attention to the truths of religion. He also gave attention to the distribution of Bibles and tracts, and that with encouraging success, although his peculiar position did not allow the use of those very public means which agents could employ who had not any other object to attain, and, having finished their work, could withdraw from the buzz of popular excitement to repeat similar operations elsewhere. After about six months he was able to proceed more directly to Missionary labours. Two or three children attended daily to learn to write, and were formed into a Bible class. Besides these, a few persons assembled at his lodgings every Lord's day, with whom he read prayers and a sermon; and as his connexions increased, a small school was formed, which he taught gratuitously. In all this he was instructed only to accede to applications to teach, when made to him by those who observed that he was so engaged with one or two children of the house where he lodged, but by no means to be the first mover in

collecting pupils. This system was strictly observed in Cadiz, as in Gibraltar; so that in all cases the parents have been the spontaneous actors in placing their children under the instruction of Protestant Teachers; and we have not been open to the charge of aggression from our adversaries, although the aggressive mode of action might often be most consistent with our wishes, and might be fully borne out on the purest principles. But it ought to be stated, that, on this Mission, it has not been found necessary, as our hands have been well filled with work simply by using opportunities as they have been providentially afforded. The first organization of a Protestant institution in Spain, could not be witnessed with indifference. The Priests murmured, threatened, and spared no effort to alarm the few persons who attended those meetings, or sent their children; and although they were in general beyond those influences, here and there an individual drew back, rather to avoid trouble than from any other feeling. The Bishop was much annoyed. As Bishop, he was bound by oath to crush heretics and heresy together, if he could; and, independently of that obligation, his views were in irreconcilable opposition to reform of every kind, a circumstance which much weakened his influence to our prejudice. To the preaching he especially objected. "I have no objection," he said, "to the school, provided he teach nothing contrary to our doctrines; but to preach on Sundays is another thing. I wish I could put a stop to it." When some one observed, that he thought the Bishop had power to do any thing he pleased with respect to the religious education of the people, he replied, "O that I could! The civil authorities of Cadiz will not support me. They say it would prove that we are not yet free." The civil authorities, taken individually, were friendly to the innovation, and did not scruple to express their good-

will; and it was, therefore, impracticable to proceed against him summarily. However, the laws of Spain at that time required, that no one should teach a school who had not been duly examined and licensed; and the examination was of such a kind as almost to exclude foreigners, and certainly to exclude Protestants, from the situation of Schoolmaster. This being the case, it was represented to him, that it would be imprudent to persist in open infraction of the law, (a law, indeed, to which our attention had not previously been directed,) and that it would be advisable to close the school, and to desist from preaching also, without allowing time for an order to be issued compelling him to do so, and that then he might submit the affair for decision to those who had power to assist him. But while this deliberation was going forward, he received an official order to close the school.

On hearing of this reverse, I rode to Cadiz, and found that there was hope that the difficulty would be overcome. While there, I preached on three successive evenings to as many persons as could be conveniently assembled in a large room. This was at special request; and on the Lord's day I conducted two services in our accustomed manner. On those occasions the word of God appeared to be accompanied by a solemnizing influence; and the freedom with which it was heard, even under the apprehension of impending persecution, tended to confirm my confidence, that God would arise and maintain his cause. And I had not returned to Gibraltar many days, when intelligence was communicated, that the Governor had given official permission for the school to be reopened, until an answer should be received from the superior authority at Madrid, to whom the question would be referred. This determination gave an enlivening impulse to the Mission. Several persons solicited admission for their children, and it was

necessary to hire a house for their accommodation. The decision of the Spanish Government could not be favourable to us as the law then stood; but it was not expected that any decision would be given, as it had been officially acknowledged, and that often, that the laws respecting public instruction were defective. But the government of the city fell into other hands, the Count of Clonard, a bigoted Romanist, and anti-liberal besides, being appointed to that office. This notwithstanding, as the year closed, our prospects brightened. We had the satisfaction of seeing, that the conflict was fairly begun, and were encouraged to trust in God by many providential indications of his favour. Even in Spain we had found friends and supporters, where it was thought that we should have encountered universal opposition. And the claims of religion began to be felt, even although not legally acknowledged. But we have chiefly to notice the proceedings of the Cortes.

Don Antonio Garcia Blanco, himself a Canon, probably the best Hebraist in Spain, if not almost the only man who deserves to be so called, an avowed opponent of the Court of Rome, and favourer of biblical studies, proposed to his colleagues in the Cortes a plan "for the better ordering and reformation of the Clergy." As it was not carried through, nor yet another plan which the Ecclesiastical Commission afterwards proposed, it is not necessary to detail its articles. It is sufficient to observe, that the prolonged and instructive discussion which was elicited by these proposals, as well as the careful studies of some of the most enlightened men of the country which preceded them, served to fix the general conviction, that a reform of the Church was necessary, and to draw towards the object a general attention, leading to investigations by which all were convinced who were willing to be convinced, or not so blinded by self-

interest as to resist the conviction, that the whole system of church-government should be changed. The Clergy of Toledo, the Oxford of Spain, arose in formal opposition to the schemes of reformation; but the Cortes, maintaining their right to legislate for the Church in matters relating to the sustenance and conduct of the Clergy, as well as for the good order and well-being of the community at large, rejected the remonstrance of the Chapter of Toledo as "irreverent." They deemed that, notwithstanding the restrictions on the subject of ordaining to holy orders which had been recently imposed, the number of Priests was still exorbitant; for they were not less than two hundred and sixty thousand. They saw, with unconquerable disapprobation, that, while the administration of public affairs cost seven hundred millions of reals, the Clergy consumed one thousand six hundred millions. They said that the people were oppressed and demoralized by the cupidity and immorality of the priesthood; that their vain ceremonies produced idleness and confusion; and that even the welfare of the large body of men most immediately concerned could only be secured by the interference of the legislature, as they were not only often in collision with the people, but were ill at ease among themselves, and, as Mr. Blanco well observed, (and his observation may be taken as authoritative,) they exhibited a lively refutation of the Romish boast of unity; for they had come to be "divided and subdivided by scholastic questions to such an extreme, that, when speaking of theological doctrines, they did not understand one another, or were obliged to cut short their stubborn controversies by cutting the Gordian knot; that, consequently, the ecclesiastical body in Spain had long ceased to be the principal and most influential in the kingdom, and no more exercised, as formerly, influence over public opinion and the consciences of Spaniards." Never before had such lan-

guage as this been adventured in the Hall of the Cortes; but from that time it has been common.

The essential change which was then made in the eleventh Article of the revised Constitution, relating to religion, together with the mind of the legislature on the subject, demands our serious attention. For the clearer exhibition of this important progression of opinion, we place the original Article of 1812 and the reformed Article of 1837 in juxta-position.

1812.	1837.
"THE religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, apostolic, Roman, only true. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other."	"THE nation obliges itself to maintain the worship and Ministers of the Catholic religion, which the Spaniards profess."

Let us now mark the points of comparison and difference which appear on the face of these two Articles.

1. The Article of 1812 is dogmatical. In that of 1837 we find nothing beyond a guarantee of maintenance. The words "Catholic, apostolic, Roman, only true," are wisely rejected.

2. In the former are recognised Romanism and apostolicity, in the Romish acceptation of the term. The latter shows no such recognition.

3. In the former, Romanism figures as the State-religion. In the latter, maintenance is promised to whatever modification of the Catholic religion the Spaniards may profess. Some may hold the Catholic religion with variation in discipline and doctrine; for the restriction is removed.

4. The former, by necessary inference, declares the

Christianity of the Reformed churches to be false. The latter meddles not, but leaves such questions to those who may be presumed competent to their discussion.

5. The former upholds Popery with all the force of penal statutes. The latter assumes no obligation to do this, but merely promises to maintain the persons of the Ministers of the religion professed by Spaniards, and to defray the expenses of public worship; and this in contemplation of measures most odious to the Pope and his priesthood, as we shall see.

6. The former approves of the murderous laws of the Inquisition, calls them wise and just, and engages to enforce them. The latter virtually repudiates them.

7. The former prohibits Protestant worship. The latter withdraws the prohibition, and may be so interpreted as to allow liberty of conscience. Here, also, is contemplated an ulterior measure.

8. The former, by the words "and shall be perpetually," records a veto against innovation. The latter tacitly invites reform.

The reader may remember that it was stated, that when, twenty-five years before, the President placed the Article on religion before the Cortes, he all but imposed silence on the members, not desiring that it should be submitted to discussion. Such a hint, I believe, was not given on any other occasion. It will also be remembered, that the little that was then said was of the most intolerant kind, even though the speakers were reputed to be most liberal men. They were then afraid to approach the subject.

But in 1837 that fear had vanished, and a consciousness of liberty, quite the reverse of former feelings, occupied its place. Let us briefly review the memorable discussion which accompanied the first solemn and national, although imperfect, retraction of

intolerance; and not cease to consider that it was made at a time when the priesthood were generally disaffected, when many of them were under arms with Don Carlos in the north, and the formidable body of parochial Priests and recently-expelled Friars, headed by wealthy and powerful dignitaries, were ready to aggravate still further the horrors of civil war, should additional pretext be given, and opportunity found.

Don Gonzalez Alonso, Minister of Grace and Justice, introduced the Article by a speech in his character as representative of the Government. He began by eulogizing the Catholic religion, but observing such profound silence as regarded the peculiarities of Romanism, that those who chose so to construe his language might understand him to be describing, not Popery, but the true Catholic religion. He then made a temperate allusion to the ambition, intolerance, and treason of a portion of the Clergy; and urged on the Cortes, as an inference, that it was their duty to guarantee to Spaniards "the inviolability of their conscience;" and entreated them to make it part of their Constitution, and that the expression should be most explicit, that "the Spaniard never could be persecuted nor troubled on account of religion." He referred to the prudence of the former legislature, and marked the change of times by which such a prudential course was rendered no longer necessary.

But he objected to the Article which was proposed by the Commission just as it now stands, because he thought it to be incomplete. He would so word it as to afford an explicit guarantee that "no Spaniard should be troubled, persecuted, nor legally proceeded against on a religious account; for," said he, "as the Cortes recognise liberty to think and speak on every other subject, why not on this?" Far was it from him to desire liberty of worship, an indefinite toleration, but merely a guarantee of personal safety

to those who might not conform to particular Articles of faith, or forms of worship. He cited and reprobated the existing laws; and prayed the Cortes to supersede them effectually, in favour of all who should obey the laws in general, and treat the prevailing religion with outward respect. However, he concluded, by guarding against any construction of his words, by which he should be supposed to have pleaded for open toleration of other forms of worship.

Mr. Sarabia proposed as an amendment, "that no one may be persecuted for his religious opinions, so long as he does not attack religious worship and morals."

The veteran Arguelles objected to the amendments proposed by the preceding speakers, because he thought that they would in reality embarrass future Cortes, whose members might desire to advance on them, as they had advanced on their predecessors; and that, in framing a fundamental law, they should not approach details which must remain to be adjusted afterwards, and to be varied according to times and circumstances without affecting the original Constitution.

The state of his health was such, that he apprehended there might not be another opportunity afforded him for a similar discussion. He therefore caught that occasion, and entered on an interesting detail of affairs, by which to support his apology for the error committed by the old Cortes, of which he was a member, an error committed under the vain hope of conciliating the priesthood, who were *incapable of being reconciled with the liberties of their country*. And as a member of the Commission which had drawn up the present Article, he assured the Cortes that their object had been so to frame it as to avoid the least appearance of that "canonical and intolerant legislation." He affirmed, but not quite in accordance with

the native historians and the old laws, that until the fifteenth century Spain had been the most tolerant of nations. After a further review of events of his own time, he proceeded to say: "The Commission knew that this was not an œcumenic Council, and that the existence of the Catholic religion in Spain is an irrefragable fact, clear to every one, since there is not an individual who does not profess it.* But it were out of place to say that the Spaniards *shall* profess the Catholic religion. The Spaniards *do* profess it. And besides, after the promise that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' would it not be arrogance to offer it a prop? I, an Ecclesiastic, not only would not solicit this protection, but would be the first to solicit that it should be done away with. Taking their stand on these principles, the Commission believed that the Article of the Constitution to which I allude (of 1812) could not be presented, after having seen that the re-action from 1814 to 1820, and that from 1823 to 1834, could not check the progress of knowledge. The discourse of Mr. Gonzalez Alonso, on which I have spoken, would not have been listened to in the Cortes of Cadiz. I myself would have prayed him to refrain from uttering such language. Can there be a greater proof of progress? Here we have a Secretary of Grace and Justice standing up this day to plead for toleration!"

This functionary arose to remind him that he had not asked for liberty of worship. Argüelles met him by an oratorical concession, that the toleration spoken of was all that could be desired. He explained that the Commission had chosen the word, "Catholic," because it was orthodox and canonical from the time of the Council of Nice. But he objected to the terms "apostolic" and "Roman." "As for us, let the

* A statement which has happily become obsolete in course of time.

Pope be the visible head of the Church; let him have the primacy of rank; and what has that to do with it? If to-morrow, as it happened once, he should remove his chair to Avignon, would the Catholic Christian have to call himself *Avignonense?* Besides this, the word 'Roman,' in our present circumstances, involves manifest danger." He avowed that his religion was not that of the Court of Rome; and cited documentary evidence to show that the religion of the Court of Rome could not be held safely by Spaniards. With regard to the obligation to maintain the Clergy, which they were acknowledging, he made some observations, drawn from ecclesiastical antiquity in Spain; and resumed his seat.

Mr. Caballero would have omitted the old Article without substituting any other. He said that the Spaniards were perfectly tolerant, of which a proof to him was the existence of a burial-ground (!) for Protestants in Alicante; and that it was superfluous to talk of maintaining the Clergy, when it was as much a matter of course to maintain them as other public officers. He thought, however, that if the Article were retained, it should be so worded as to check the Bishops, who, in some provinces, had been playing the part of Inquisitors.

Mr. Sancho, as a member of the Commission, proceeded to justify the Article. His speech contained little worth repeating, except an opportune avowal of the reasons why maintenance was guaranteed to the Clergy: "That it might not be believed, that the nation was going to deny sustenance to the Ecclesiastics, and leave them without means of keeping up public worship, after that so large an amount of revenues and property had been applied to the use of the State." Very prudent, certainly. "Further: by saying, that the nation obliges itself to maintain the Ministers of religion, you declare, that these are not

independent of the State." And it must be granted, that a seditious Clergy like that of Spain could not be trusted in a state of independence. He said, very truly, that no one was ever persecuted for opinions, not even by the Inquisition, but for the expression of opinions; and referred to the burial-ground at Alicante as "a sign of toleration of public worship," not knowing, perhaps, that every act of public, or even private, worship in such places had been explicitly forbidden. He further intimated, that if the British Consul at Cadiz should request permission to have a domestic chapel there for fifty or sixty resident British families, with a Clergyman to officiate therein, and if the Governor of the city should certify that such an establishment would not endanger public tranquillity, (!) it might be allowed; but that such licence could not be extended to Spain generally. Just as if Mr. Sancho expected, that Englishmen would ask leave of a Governor to worship God in their own dwellings, or in a domestic chapel, and that the important question of religious worship should be adjusted at the caprice, or something worse, of such an individual, who, as likely as not, would render his official report in favour of the party who would bribe most largely.

Don Gonzalez Alonso spoke more to purpose in defence of the Article, and cited facts which should be remembered as specimens of many similar. "In the year 1834," said he, "a very worthy fiscal of the Court of Valencia, animated by religious zeal, made out a representation against a presumed heretic. I have seen reports of Prelates setting forth, that the cognizance of certain affairs pertained to 'the Tribunal of the Faith;' and all this ought to convince us, that the time is come for us to make things clear, and put an end at once to inquisitorial proceedings." In a strain of eloquence he expressed his regret at the intolerance yet remaining; admiring that Portugal and

France, nations which he thought inferior, in some respects, to Spain, should have outstripped that country in the career of religious liberty; and, in a fine stroke of irony, proposed to amend the Article by declaring, that no one should be obliged to embrace religion at all, "since," said he, "in our possessions in other regions, as wherever else in all the world that infamous class, that depressed degradation of all humanity, (I speak of the slaves,) wherever this unhappy class of beings is allowed, they cannot be good husbands, good parents, nor good servants, nay, nor religious either, because their religion would be contradictory to all that their masters command; and, in such a state, there can be no morality. I mention this now, because the suggestion may be very useful when we come to speak of the provinces beyond sea." He concluded by proposing, that a sharper look-out should be kept on the Priests, and that a clause should be added to the Article rendering persecution impossible.

Don Antonio Martinez Velasco, Bishop elect of Jaen, pleaded for the Article, as being "a law of toleration, a law so just, and well-approved by the example of other nations, that it could not be ill received among the Spaniards."

Mr. Tarrancon would have preferred the old Article of 1812 as a guard against all innovation in matters of religion. He thought that, if it were retained, it might be usefully appealed to in proof that the framers of the Constitution were not irreligious. He would have the words "apostolic" and "Roman" kept with especial care, after the example of France and Portugal, to obviate all laxity of interpretation. But he saw it necessary to close his speech with assurances, that his doctrine was not unfavourable to the welfare of the nation.

Mr. Esquivel supported the Article. He thought

it quite unnecessary to speak of toleration when there were none to be tolerated in Spain. Liberty to think for one's self is so obviously a natural and common right, that he would not bring it into question. If there were persons of another religion among the Spaniards, he would not advocate toleration, for that would be insufficient: in that case he would advocate liberty of worship. But for that he considered, that the time was not yet arrived.

Mr. Lopez made a long historical speech, remarkable for liberality of sentiment, and justly distinguished between toleration of the dead, (as in the permission of distinct burial-grounds, which, after all, was rather a mark of exclusiveness,) and toleration of the living. He particularly mentioned other countries as examples of liberty of worship.

The Minister of Grace and Justice defended the proposed Article, together with the addition which had been suggested, as necessary to nullify existing laws, which he cited.

Mr. Olózaga made a temporizing speech; and, therefore, a bad one; and its report would neither instruct nor entertain.

Mr. Lopez replied, saying, towards the close of his speech, "He" (Olózaga) "says, that the persecuting laws are not carried into execution. Then why preserve them? Why not abolish laws which it is known will never be executed, and which we desire may not be? He has added, that during the late fearful decade no one was punished for his religious opinions; but, at this moment, several Deputies have handed me a multitude of notes and memoranda." He gave the purport of those notes in the following remarkable words:—

"Various persons have been hanged for religious opinions; and, on the same account, Bishops have imposed fines, even without granting them a hearing,

on some who became afterwards members of these Cortes."

The Article as already recited, without addition or amendment, was carried by one hundred and twenty-five votes against thirty-four, there being, in the minority, one or more who thought it too liberal, others (and probably they constituted the larger number of dissentients) who thought it not liberal enough. And by way of anticipation, it may be mentioned here, that they soon had occasion to charge this defect on their colleagues in the majority, when a personal friend of many of them, Don Valentin Ortigosa, Bishop elect of Malaga, was subjected to a violent persecution, carried on by means of the unrepealed laws, advantage being taken of the absence of all provision for religious liberty in the present Constitution. It is not explicit, does not answer the intention of those who framed it; and Christianity, justice, and humanity demand that the mistake committed by the legislature of 1837 should be rectified.

The Constitution had scarcely been promulged in the month of July, when occasion was given for ascertaining the mind of its framers.

Don Pascual Marin, *Vicario*, or Curate, of the parish of Santa Cruz, in Valencia, came from that city, uninvited, to pay me a visit of inquiry in Gibraltar, bringing a letter of introduction from a friend. He spent a full month in my house, and I devoted some time every day to serious conference with him. We read over some books of the New Testament, subjecting the text to careful investigation, and discussing each point of doctrine, experience, and practice, as it came into view. He attended in our congregations, both English and Spanish; accompanied me often in the performance of my pastoral duties; and at family worship especially he offered up prayer in a manner which tended to persuade us, that in that

holy exercise he was much in earnest. There was a sweetness and teachableness of disposition, and a warmth of affection, displayed in his conversation which won on all who made his acquaintance, and excited the hope, that he would appear as an instrument prepared by the grace of God for the conversion of many of his countrymen. He requested admission to the Lord's table, where he might enjoy the divinely-instituted sacrament, so entirely distinct from the masses he had been used to celebrate among his parishioners. On the last Lord's day before he left us, he addressed, at his own particular request, my Spanish congregation, and avowed his approbation of our faith and worship, using the clearest language, but without any expression that could be offensive to the Papists. All this was done in full view of the inevitable result, and with but an obscure prospect of support among Protestants, should his own Church cast him out. There was, therefore, every reason to give him credit for sincerity; and although he eventually yielded to the pressure of the difficulties and temptations to inconstancy which befell him, I should be sorry to regard his conduct at that time as insincere.

A summary of his proceedings was sent from Gibraltar to Valencia; and he had not been many days at home, with the intention, I believe, of not returning to his situation as a Priest, when the Archbishop elect (*sede vacante*) suspended him from the exercise of his priestly functions, and deprived him of his stipend. It is not necessary to describe the persecution he suffered from the Valencian Priests. That was a matter of course. The efforts of that priesthood alternate between craft and violence, according to their position, or the subject of their operations. As the often-cited law was not repealed, they desired to make use of it on that occasion, and proceeded to engage the concur-

rence of the civil power to that effect. Don Pascual remonstrated against this; and, as I was aware of the proceedings, I had written a letter, strongly representing to the civil Governor of Valencia the unfavourable impression which would certainly be produced in other countries with regard to Spain, should the civil authority lend itself to any act of persecution on a religious account. His Excellency perceived the odium to which he would be exposed by taking part in the prosecution, and refused to have any thing to do in the matter. My friend was cited before an ecclesiastical tribunal, at which he heard read a relation of even his most trifling actions while at Gibraltar, some part of which was doubtless furnished at the confessional by persons who had contrived to obtain information from members of my family. His approbation of the religion of Protestants had been so public and unequivocal, that he could not but expect to be no longer recognised as Priest; but when a Committee of Priests appointed to examine his case decided that he was "a mixed heretic," using a formula of the Inquisition, and would have him to be punished as such, he thought of the Valencian Quaker that he had seen hung a few years before, and lost no time in sending up a petition to the Cortes against the conduct of the Archbishop elect in suspending him from the exercise of his ministry.

The following official note of his petition was made in the Cortes on the 4th of September:—"Referred to the Commission of Ecclesiastical Affairs, a petition of the Presbyter Don Pascual Marin, complaining of the Ecclesiastical Governor of the archbishopric of Valencia, for having deprived him of his licences to preach and say mass, and for requiring him also to make a public declaration of faith, because he had attended at Gibraltar in a Protestant congregation, and pronounced a discourse in it, notwithstanding that in the said discourse

religious matters were not touched." In these last words I am sorry to find a gross untruth; for, his discourse was religious throughout, being nothing less than a sermon preached from a text, and containing such just and pious sentiments, as to excite the admiration of the hearers. So easy is it for those orators to assume the language of piety, and, as in this case, to cast aside even the restraints of conscience after the work of the pulpit is dispatched!

The object of the members of the Cortes who befriended Don Pascual was not to dispose of his case by an act of direct religious toleration, but to evade the question which it involved. When he was threatened with legal prosecution, I sent him, at his request, a certificate that he had not attacked the Roman Catholic religion, nor discussed any points of controversy. Reference is made to this certificate in the following Report:—

"The Ecclesiastical Commission has carefully examined the memorial addressed to the Cortes by Don Pascual Marin, beneficed Presbyter of the parish of Santa Cruz of Valencia, complaining of the proceeding of the Ecclesiastical Governor of that diocess, who—having received a communication from the Apostolic Vicar of the Garrison of Gibraltar, in which it was stated that the said Don Pascual Marin, during his stay in that place, had attended at the chapel of a Protestant congregation, and pronounced a discourse therein the last day—had suspended the said Presbyter from the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry.

"The Commission believes, that it would have been desirable that the Ecclesiastical Governor of Valencia should not have regarded the business as one of those which are of the greatest importance. In countries where there is toleration of various forms of worship, it is not uncommon for persons to attend at services cele-

brated in forms differing from their own, without ever fearing any compromise of their religious profession. The discourse pronounced by the Presbyter Marin had not for its argument, as appears by the certificate of the Protestant Minister, any point of controversy. The Commission, therefore, considering the nature of the memorial, and also that it is not sufficiently supported by documentary evidence, think that it should be referred to the Government, that the Government, having taken the matter into consideration, may adopt the most just and convenient measures. The Cortes, however, will determine what shall seem to be the most convenient.

"Palace of the same, Sept. 9th, 1837."

Here follow the signatures. Don Antonio Martinez de Velasco, whose signature is the first affixed to this Report, afterwards informed me that the Government could do nothing for him, until he should be reconciled to the Church, by retracting what he was reported to have said in his sermon; but that he was "too obstinate," and would retract nothing.

The Government could not compel the Church to take him into her service, after he had formally dissented therefrom, and refused to make amends by a public declaration of faith, or, indeed, by any real concession. "But," said the Bishop, "we" (the Cortes) could not allow him to be persecuted." In either of the former constitutional periods, a Priest accused of such an offence would have been handed over to the "Tribunal of the Faith," and thence to the Civil Magistrate, to suffer imprisonment, banishment, or death. Don Pascual was afterwards imprisoned for a short time, during a temporary re-action of the retrograde party; but was so far from suffering civil persecution, that he was soon put into a pretty lucrative situation as Governor or Director of the General Hospital of Valencia. It would have been far more pleasing to

have seen him labouring as a Preacher of the Gospel; but perhaps he finished his work as an agent under Divine Providence, by testing, in some degree, the principle of liberty in his country, and affording an example of some importance to the labourers whom God shall thrust out into the vineyard, and keep free from temporizing. This poor man fell into that snare: still I have hope for him, and pray that the light which he has received, and the experience which he has gained, may yet be sanctified to his entire conversion. He is so far free from the Romish Church, as not to be serving as a Priest, and perhaps, also, it may hereafter be seen, that he is held in reserve for better days,—days which, in the ordinary progress of events, may not be far distant, but which might be brought on even in our own time, if, amidst the opulence and piety of ENGLAND, means could be found for the support of but one Missionary station in Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

1838. Mission-School in Cadiz closed by the Conde de Clonard—Journey of the Author into Spain—Notices and Information, especially as to Infanticide—Effects of War in La Mancha—Proceedings in Madrid—Return by Valencia—Visible Decline of Popery in that City—Visit to England, by Way of Cadiz, on account of Sickness—Re-establishment of the Cadiz Mission—Concession of Government in favour of educational Undertakings—Bible Society—A liberal Bishop.

At the close of the last year, the question relating to our school at Cadiz had been referred to the Government of Spain, (or was said to have been so referred,) and the establishment had been revived under a provisional licence. But on January 28th the Count de Clonard communicated a decision, as he said, of the Queen Governess, that our master could not be allowed to teach, "unless he should lose the character of foreigner, with which the authorized exercise of that calling was *incompatible*." The school was therefore closed, and all other proceedings suspended for the time. This notwithstanding, the case was not desperate. We had kept our ground for more than a year, a favourable feeling towards us was rapidly spreading among the population, the Gospel had been preached to our countrymen at stated times, and a portion of divine truth communicated to the minds of several interesting youths, as well as to some of their relatives. One human resource was yet available,—a personal application to the Government at Madrid; and this led me to that capital. The particulars of the journey are now to be related, together with the result of some observations then made, which, although digressive, are not foreign to our present object.

Various circumstances delayed my departure until March 11th, on which day I embarked for Cadiz. I landed there on Sunday, 12th. I heard prayers read in English at the Consulate, and in the afternoon read prayers and preached in Spanish to a small congregation assembled on short notice at the Mission-house.

13th.—I was favoured by our Consul with a letter of introduction to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, (this being necessary in existing circumstances,) and was indebted to some gentlemen of the city for introductions to influential persons at the seat of government.

14th.—I embarked in a steam-boat for Seville. On proceeding to make a journey inland, it was not possible to get rid of an apprehension of danger. The usual method at that time of travelling on the line of road over which I had to pass, was in companies, under armed escorts, halting or advancing as the position of the Carlist troops might seem to render the way practicable. But bands of armed robbers, which overran a great part of the country, had burned the diligences, and robbed the passengers, and spread such terror, that the capital was almost in a state of non-communication with some of the southern provinces. However, I committed my way to the Lord in prayer, and confided in his all-powerful protection. We had a pleasant passage up the Guadalquivir. In Seville the changes of the preceding three years had produced a very visible effect. Infidelity, the vigorous daughter of the Babylonian Harlot, seemed to be strangling her ancient mother. The theatres were open in Lent, as, it was said, they never had been before; and it was also reported that on the last Corpus-Christi day, many of the people displayed their contempt by keeping on their hats while the host was being carried in procession. All this was rather in contrast with the following inscription, cut in marble, on the outside of the

church of San Salvador, being one of the most public places of the city :—

"THE KING DON JUAN. LAW XI.—The King, and every person whosoever that shall meet the most holy sacrament, shall alight, although it be in the mire, under penalty of six hundred maravedises of that time, according to the laudable custom of this city, or shall lose his horse and its furniture ; and if it shall be a Moor of fourteeen years and upwards, he must go down upon his knees, or lose all the clothes he has upon him, which shall be for the person who accuses him. This stone was set up by the arch-brotherhood of this collegiate church, in the year 1714."

And long may that stone remain as a monument of Romanism in Seville, in times when no such processions shall move along those most perplexing streets, —a very labyrinth !

15th.—I was waiting for a conveyance.

16th.—Travelling impracticable. The endowed charitable institutions of Seville had lately been put under the control of one general Board, which should collect the funds of the whole, and disburse them under a common management. This Board, hearing that a foreigner was desirous to see some of them, had the politeness to send me an order, requiring the Directors to show me their respective establishments, and answer all questions relative to their system, management, &c. Accompanied by a few friends, I visited the House of exposed Children, the Mad-house, the Asylum for aged Women, the *Hospicio* for Children, and the Central Hospital. The readiness of the Board to throw open those important institutions to the inspection of a foreigner was fully justified by the cleanliness and good order every where observable,—a state of things which was evidently habitual, nor indeed could have been assumed for the occasion on the short notice of a few hours. The Directors were proud of the improvements already

effected under the new system, and displayed the frank politeness which constitutes one of the most favourable features of the national character. The particulars which struck me as most deserving notice, relate to the House of exposed Children, *Casa de Expósitos*.

This house, like the others, was in excellent order. A young married couple, of apparently kind temper, resided there as Governor and Governess. The cradles for the infants, and beds for the elder children, were clean and good, the latter being all new since the change of system. There were at that moment eleven wet nurses and forty babes. The numbers are always varying; but there was then a much better proportion of nurses than there had formerly been. The Governor said that there were three hundred more children,—a few in the house, but the greater part of them in charge of nurses in different parts of the city, or at school. None above seven years of age were counted as belonging to the establishment, this being the general rule throughout Spain. He stated that the number admitted yearly had doubled since 1833 or 1834, (that is, in three or four years,) and that there were deposited, in Seville alone, about eight hundred new-born babes within the year preceding, it being understood that some of their parents were married persons of the poorer classes. I give these numbers as they were given by the head of the establishment, and noted in his presence. They are round numbers, and of course not precisely correct; but it may be fairly presumed that they were not changed to the prejudice of the institution. Now, if we deduct the children found within the walls one year ago, leaving these entirely out of the calculation, merely subtracting from the eight hundred admitted in that period the three hundred and forty of various ages now said to be alive, there must have died four hundred and sixty in twelve months. But there were well-grown children occupying many beds which

I saw ranged in the dormitory, but did not count; which reduces by so many the proportion of surviving children. Still it is evident that more than eight hundred children are deposited every year. The women at the entrance told us, in the presence of the Governor, (who did not contradict their statement,) that children were brought every night, and that, during the last night and early that morning, *five* had been taken in, which no one present spoke of as an unusually large number. But, if we only calculate on an average of *three* of those deeds of darkness nightly, which I cannot but think too low, there must be no fewer than one thousand and ninety-five babes cast into the receptacle every year; or more, if the number is increasing. We take this, however, as the number; and from the three hundred and forty said to be alive at that time, deduct one hundred and forty as the miserable residue of the preceding six years; there will then appear an appalling wreck of life; for eight hundred and ninety-five children must have perished. Nor is so great a mortality at all surprising. Many, or most, of those babes were destined to abandonment as soon as their mothers became conscious of their existence, and were dropped from the womb as obnoxious burdens, only born to be cast away out of sight. The exposed infant was neither warmed in the maternal bosom, nor nursed with any compassionating care. It was hastily wrapped up as a bundle, if born by day, laid aside until after night-fall, and rudely hurried away by some pitiless wretch, who cared not whether it should live or die. The mother was, perhaps, diseased, most probably unhappy, and during the period of gestation would use every precaution to conceal her state, even endeavouring, although ineffectually, to procure abortion; so that the majority of those children could scarcely be healthy at their birth. But even if they were, what can be more delicate, more in need of the tenderest attention, than a newly-born

babe, however healthy? The *expósito* receives it not. It is muffled up under a cloak, to suppress its cries, carried off in that state no small distance, and tossed hastily into the "cradle" of stone prepared for the reception of abandoned infancy. Thence it is taken soon, *if* the slumbering portress is awakened by the tinkling of the small bell which is rung just once by the barbarian who carried it, and who dares not wait to see it safely through, apprehending charges for its maintenance, if detected; or if it lies there till the morning, it is probably dead. If taken alive out of the "cradle," the first care is said to be to baptize, rather than to tend. If it find a quicker transition from hand to hand, and passes through alive, it is given to a nurse by no means interested in the preservation of its life,—a woman of the lowest class, admitted with little or no selection, and impatient under the excessive burden of three or four sucklings. Such is the fate of an incalculable number of infants all over Spain! It is not possible that many can survive; and, indeed, of many that I saw uncovered on the laps of the nurses at Seville, almost all were newborn, or nearly so. Few remained in a more advanced stage. A few there were, both stout and healthy; but I am persuaded that they were by far the smaller number.

The real amount of infanticide in that city alone is incalculable, so general is the licentiousness of the people. It is not likely, either, that other children of the same parents, who may not be sent to the "cradle," are carefully nursed at home; for the monster who can sacrifice one child, cannot be supposed to care much for another; and one constantly hears examples of most unnatural cruelty. The day before visiting the house of *expósitos*, I had heard of a woman who destroyed her babe of five weeks old by dropping it into the sewer. Its cries were heard, and a woman of the house ran to the place, and endea-

voured to procure help to get it out, but meanwhile it was suffocated. The woman expressed no compunction, nor gave any sign of shame, on the detection of the murder, but said that she wanted to go out to work, and could not be kept at home by *that child*. And during the same journey, I incidentally heard in Valencia that the body of a new-born babe had been found in the street a few mornings before, with one arm eaten off, as by a dog or pig.

In connexion with this subject, which I prefer to dwell on here once for all, may be mentioned what we saw in the Central Hospital. The number of patients suffering from the effects of vice, far exceeded that of all the sick and hurt taken together; and the Governor of the hospital said that when the warm weather set in, patients of that class would come in by droves. But I would draw a veil over the scene of wretchedness and degradation which was there disclosed.

Let it be remembered, that in every town of Spain, there are receptacles prepared at public expense in which children are deposited in the manner here described. Every town has its *Casa de Expósitos;* and so blunt are the feelings of the inhabitants, that they are shown up as admirable charities. At Valencia it seemed that no account was kept of the number of children. And although my introduction to the Governor was private, and he did not appear to be on his guard, I could obtain no information as to their number, to which he seemed to be utterly indifferent, and said that *no account was kept*, but that *few survived*. Nothing could exceed his unconcern as to whether they lived or died; nor did he seem to apprehend any responsibility to God or man for the multitude of human beings perishing under his eye. He said that his friend, Governor of the House of Expositos in Madrid, had lately mentioned in a letter to him that from nine hundred to one thousand had been

deposited there during the preceding year; of which number fifty-six were surviving when he wrote, but that of those fifty-six many would drop off.

This subject demands investigation. It appears to stand in intimate connexion with,

1. The celibacy of the Clergy.

2. The abominations of the confessional, and,

3. The unscriptural rules and covetous practices of the Church of Rome with regard to marriage.

Should any Christian philanthropist devote but a few months to minute investigation in Spain, he will open up to public view a depth of iniquity not less horrible, a few externals excepted, than are the enormities of heathen India, the cry of which has awakened the compassion of British Christians. A pamphlet on this subject, well stored with authenticated details, would be very useful. As Middleton, in his "Letters from Rome," exhibited the Paganism of Popery impressed on its religious ceremonial and customs, the author might most successfully point out the transfusion of Heathenism into the whole mass of society, unchanged as it is from its original state under a religion unaccompanied with the influences of the Holy Spirit, and differing only from antichristian society by a substitution of other names given to the same things. The Spartans are said to have thrown their weakly children into pits; and the illegitimate offspring of Priests and other libertines are thrown into troughs in the walls. Where is the difference? In this latter case a national provision is made for encouraging a national crime, so that hypocrisy is conjoined with barbarism. And it might be hinted to our investigator, that he should learn something about the destiny of the few surviving children, who are said to be exposed to extreme wretchedness. He might find the assertion of Lactantius to be verified, that the wicked parent, if his child survives, *addixit certe sanguinem suam, vel ad servitutem, vel ad lupanar;*

and that the defects which are said to characterize the Spanish people, might be traced up to their source in the religion which still exists among them. The result of such inquiry would be useful to England, as exhibiting the demoralizing and depopulating influences of Popery wherever it exists; and to Spain, as demonstrating to the legislature, to whom, indeed, it is no secret, that the mock celibacy imposed on two hundred thousand citizens is, in every point of view, contrary to the law of God and of nature, and subversive of the morals and wealth of the State; and that the time is fully come for declaring such an obligation to be no longer tolerated. Nor is this all. The discoveries which would thus be made, would place Spain beside Hindostan in the sight of the Christian world, as equally needing the benefits of Christianity for its moral and social renovation; adding one more to the many pleas which already urge Christian people of every name to publish God's way upon the earth, and his saving health to all nations. "Then shall the nations be glad, and sing for joy. Then shall the earth yield her increase, and God, even our own God, shall bless us."

17th.—Still waiting for a conveyance, as none was to be had but at an extravagant price.

18th, Sunday.—At my lodgings all day. I had declined accepting invitations to go out, but had invited one or two of my young University friends to call on me at an appointed hour of the evening, for the express purpose of receiving an exposition of my reasons for keeping holy the Lord's day. They came, but not alone. I had a party of eighteen of the senior students, young men of the first families in that part of Spain, and most of them on the verge of public life, just ready to exercise great influence for good or evil. At their request, formally proposed by the senior of the party, I explained the leading marks of distinction

between, as they said, "their religion and ours;" taking as the basis of my discourse the "Apostles' Creed," and commenting on each article as held by us, and as contrasted with the leading doctrines of the Romish theology. They heard with lively interest; inasmuch as almost every sentence could be made to convey some new information, and to show scriptural ground for rejection of the traditionary doctrines and customs which constitute the chief part of their belief and practice. We afterwards conversed with great freedom, no one making the least approach to disputation; but, on the contrary, all professed to have adopted a more favourable opinion of us than that in which they had been educated.

19th.—Still detained.

20th.—I left Seville in the morning in a waggon heavily laden, and drawn by mules. After lumbering over the road for between five and six days, we found ourselves in Ecija, an antiquated town, some parts of which remain as built by the Moorish inhabitants, or repaired in just the same style. As the waggoner and I were messing together in one of the humbler apartments of the inn, one of Her Majesty's mail-carts drove into the court-yard in the centre of the building; and, after some negotiation, I transferred my person to that vehicle, as promising a less tardy conveyance to the Court. The royal mail, be it observed, is deposited in a small two-wheeled covered cart, without springs, consisting of nothing more than bars framed together, the sides and bottom being lined with rude matting, to prevent persons and things from slipping through, and covered by coarse canvass, or matting, spread over bent slit bamboos, and open before and behind. Into one of those carts I was introduced, but in consequence of misinformation at the post-office at Seville, had not procured an official licence to travel in that way; so that when we were far enough on the

road for me to be at the mercy of the conductor, a gaunt, elderly man, with some vestige of a gold-laced uniform, this functionary unceremoniously enough laid hold of me by neck and heels to tumble me out at the hinder part of the royal mail-cart, but finding that his manœuvre did not operate on my pocket, he deferred further measures of ejectment until the end of the stage, when I secured my independence by hiring a pair of horses, one for self, and another for portmanteau, &c., mounted by a stable-boy, to make sure of the steeds for his master. At the next post-house there was not such an animal as a horse to be found on the establishment, nor such an article as a saddle, although the place was intended to afford provision for the exigencies of Her Majesty's royal road; and accordingly I got my equipage mounted on a mule, and surmounted by a rider, and proceeded on foot to Córdova, a distance of about sixteen miles, which city I reached as soon as it was well dark, being somewhat in advance of my mule. Here arose another question. I was on the inside of the gate of Córdova; my mule was on the outside. I had entered; the mule had not. It was time to shut the gate; the gate was shut. The responsibility of opening it, if shut, or of not shutting it, if open, was grave, especially in time of war. The case was submitted to the Commandant. He durst not undertake to decide it. It was referred back to the judgment of the Subaltern on duty in the guard-room, pending on—if he were *satisfied*. I slipped a half-dollar into his hand, and hoped he would be *satisfied*. He was satisfied; my muleteer advanced within the walls; and by the same method, not only an Andalusian mule, but a Trojan horse, might have been introduced by the foreigner; as by the lad

——————qui se ignotum venientibus ultrò,
Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis,
Obtulerat.

Following my good-natured muleteer though streets quite as intricate as they could have been a thousand years ago under Almansor, and probably far more rugged, I ascertained my way through pitchy darkness to the door of the hotel. Thence dispatching a messenger with a letter of introduction to a Professor of Divinity, in a certain ecclesiastical establishment, after a few moments we were seated side by side. Our conversation was brief, but intensely interesting. He was in correspondence with Protestants; tired of teaching a system which he did not believe, and longing to cast off the painful trammels. Since then a version of Jewel's "Apology for the Anglican Church" has been executed by his pen, and put into circulation from the press at Gibraltar. I then obtained from the Administrator of mails, &c., an order on all postmasters, Judges, and Justices, of the towns on the road, to be furnished with horses, &c., and help and protection by the way. I lay me down on the mail bags at nine o'clock, and was drawn at a rapid rate, and not very smoothly, until three o'clock in the morning, when we reached a town, of which the name is not remembered, there to wait until a military escort could be obtained, as we were at the seat of war. A bed was not to be had; so we all sate round the hearth until the morning. There was a military force there to occupy the road to Córdova; but it was not until between eight and nine o'clock that an escort of half-a-dozen horsemen could be got ready to accompany the correspondence of Córdova, Seville, Cadiz, and other important cities and districts, the distance of a single stage. After this we were detained at every village, almost at every post-house, until it could be known whether the road beyond was occupied, or not, by Carlist troops. An escort of soldiers, or militiamen, was given to us whenever they were at hand; but they usually marched some half league, and then

walked back to their quarters, leaving us to pass the most perilous parts of the country without any human protection. During the first night in that region of warfare, when I slept in a cottage, on the ground, the people of the inn not choosing to be troubled with a guest of my humble appearance, the inhabitants were thrown into alarm by the sound of musketry; and the Alcalde sent over to Bailen for help, but not a soldier could be got to stir, nor could an escort be found next day. Indeed the poor fellows were often bare-footed, half naked, and half starved, and would refuse to march until their hunger should be satisfied. The villages were generally fortified by thin walls raised across the streets; and doors and windows were walled up, to guard, as well as might be, against the ravages of the predatory forces of the rebels. But such defences were insufficient. Some of the places through which we passed had been pillaged a few days before, and almost deserted. Even the bedding had been carried off; and a bundle of straw was the most that could be furnished to place under the traveller, on the bricks. Valdepeñas, for example, presented a wretched scene. The town was so desolate, that the few remaining poor inhabitants were unroofing the empty houses to use the beams as fire-wood. There had been no vintage for, I believe, two years; and scarcely a creature was to be seen in the streets, which were overgrown with weeds. But nowhere were the dire effects of war so palpable as in Manzanares, a large town of La Mancha. As we entered the town towards evening, a caravan, consisting of a long train of waggons, both drivers and passengers armed, together with a band of weary-looking soldiers, were coming out, hoping to make one short stage before night. We were surrounded by a crowd of beggars. They did not seem to be habitually beggars, but starving town-folk, men, women, and children. It was not in my power to

satisfy their wants to any extent; but they were not clamorous. Some of their faces were haggard, grief-worn, sickly beyond description, even *livid* with wretchedness. On looking out at a window afterwards, I observed droves of cattle, large and small, being driven into the town. They were so brought in every evening, lest parties of the enemy should drive them off in the night. As it happened to be necessary that I should call at two or three houses in Manzanares, I had to traverse several streets, and witnessed indescribable misery. At dusk, all the outside house-doors were shut,* as if every householder entertained an apprehension of danger; and on the thresholds of some of them were seated poor children, to whom admission to beg was not allowed, howling feebly, as if under the pains of hunger. Squalid men met me at every turn, begging. But I had given about the last bit of money to one whose case was desperate indeed. On turning short off into a bye-street, I saw, by the twilight, something like a large bundle lying on the ground. On drawing nearer a knee became visible, protruding from under a coarse rug, which answered as a garment. Throwing aside the rug, I found a man in a state of extreme exhaustion. His eyes were sunk in the sockets, and almost fixed. His hands were cold, and covered with clammy sweat. Yet there was breath. I called on some persons who were gathering around, to lift him up with me. As we raised him on his feet, a woman shouted, "Give him an alms, and you will see how he will go." Providentially, I had just the means of doing so; but he could not take it. I exhorted them to give him nourishment, and left them dragging him into a house for that purpose.

* There are usually two doors. One opens from the street, into a lobby or vestibule, (*zaguan,*) where you wait for admittance after ringing at the inner door, which opens into the court. The outer door is shut at night only, that is, after bed-time.

"Dozens," said the bystanders, "drop down daily, and die with hunger, in Manzanares."

Even amidst the desolation of war, I was entertained by the conversation of a person whom the Manchegos are not a little proud of, although they have left her in beggary. A poor blind young woman had taken her seat in a corner of the room where the driver and I were to sup together with the family, and, much to my surprise, accosted me with a courteous *Quomodo vales?* I must confess that I was utterly unprepared to hold a colloquy in Latin; and not a little ashamed that a blind beggar-girl should fairly beat me in the use of a language she had never seen. She talked for a long time in good grammatical style, leaving to me the mortification of taking my part of the conversation in humble Castilian. A benevolent Priest had taught her the language when a child, to put her in the way of picking up a livelihood by engaging the curiosity of strangers, if not their charity. Both master and pupil succeeded to admiration; and *la ciega de Manzanares* is a unique example of the success which may be expected on the patient education of willing learners, in spite of defects which are generally thought to be insuperable.

I may be excused for introducing an incident strictly personal. Delays and unforeseen demands had exhausted my cash. I had only a bill on Madrid, and no individual could be found able to cash it. My conductor had no money either; but he provided for me, for the remainder of the way, on his own credit, both with mules and refreshment. Next morning we proceeded; and while my mind was oppressed with mingled sensations of horror and compassion, I could not but admire the forbearance of the populace. I was the only stranger in the town; it could scarcely be thought that I was penniless; and when they caught me in dark alleys, nothing could have been easier than to search

my pockets; and, desperate as was their condition, it is surprising that they did not. But, no. Not a word nor a gesture of theirs had tended to destroy the feeling of perfect safety; and I was then, under the gracious providence of God, provided for by Spanish hospitality. And, notwithstanding all that is said about the treachery and cruelty of Spaniards, and all the inconvenience which travellers do sometimes experience from individual rogues and robbers, I deem it just and right to say, that I can feel the most perfect confidence in Spaniards *generally*, whether dwelling or travelling among them, whether in town or country. Between two and three o'clock of the morning of the 29th we reached Madrid. On being challenged at the gate of the city, the conductor answered, "The mail from Andalusia," and we were instantly admitted. Some one accompanied me to a sort of lodging-house; and after we had waited on the outside for a long time, the host made his appearance, roaring ill words because he had been disturbed; so I walked back to the General Post-office, and lay on a bench until day-break. And here closes the only specimen of Spanish travelling with which the patience of the reader shall be tried.

Early in the morning I went out to pay a few visits, and, among others, roused up the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Mr. George Borrow, to whom I was indebted for much hospitable attention. He was in intimate correspondence with the Spanish gipsies, being himself somewhat anomalous in habits and predilections. It was rather amusing to find him receiving a morning visit, and taking wine with two gipsy ladies, whom he did me the honour to introduce, one as "an accomplished highwaywoman," and the other as "an expert pickpocket." He has written a history of that extraordinary race, and published the Gospel according to St. Luke in their language; for

which latter work he afterwards did penance for a day or two in prison at Madrid. Every one has heard of his "Bible in Spain."

A detailed account of proceeding with regard to the Cadiz Mission could not afford much gratification to the public. The issue was satisfactory. And it is sufficient to state, in general terms, that I experienced from Sir George Villiers (now Earl of Clarendon) the most cordial support and valuable assistance in introducing our business to the consideration of the Spanish Government; that those with whom it became necessary for me to communicate manifested the most liberal and friendly feeling; that the Count de Clonard, whatever private correspondence might have taken place, had not been instructed by the Minister of the Interior, as he professed to have been, when he commanded the school to be closed; that the result of this application was the resumption of the Cadiz Mission; and that, in pursuance of a purpose which the Government then entertained, (as will be more fully related,) restrictions on foreigners, and virtually on Protestants, proposing to set up educational establishments, or to teach in them, were taken off by a royal order.

Returning by way of Valencia, where I had some Missionary business to attend to, I reached Gibraltar towards the end of April. But a few facts, further illustrative of the state of society, may be noticed here.

One characteristic of Heathens, given by the Apostle, when he calls them ἄστοργοι, "without natural affection," is powerfully illustrated in Spain. On our way from Madrid to Valencia, our attention was directed to an old letter-carrier, who followed the diligence for the sake of the armed escort which accompanied us. A few days before he had been stopped on the road by a party of robbers, as he was travelling that way with his son, a fine young man. The latter resisted the robbers, and was killed on the

spot: the stones were yet stained with his blood when we passed by. It was said that he looked on with apparent indifference, expressed no horror nor grief at the murder of the "son of his right hand who had served him;" but, after all was over, coolly asked the murderers for a cigar, and smoked it out in their company!

Although Valencia retains far more of the exterior of Popery than any other town in the route, the ruin of the Church appeared to be witnessed by the population with profound indifference. It seemed as if the priesthood had equally fallen under the vengeance of God, and the contempt of men. There was, for example, a church converted into a granary. Heaps of corn covered the marble pavement, and half concealed columns of porphyry and gilded altar-pieces. The pictures of saints, the gorgeous pulpit, and the stately organ, still retained their positions, but were eyed without any signal of reverence or honour; and the house of prayer, as it once was deemed, was seen to be, as from the beginning, a place of merchandise. On entering another church, which opens into the square where, a few years before, the Quaker schoolmaster was hanged as a heretic, the first object was a smith's forge set up in the porch, with its bellows and blazing fire, and three or four men shoeing horses. The chapels within the building were converted into stalls; and the altars, hollowed out at the top, served as mangers, at which horses were feeding. The poor brutes defiled the variegated marble floor, and tossed their heads before "the miraculous pictures," which were not yet removed, the whole presenting a most remarkable spectacle. As I surveyed the interior of the once consecrated building, standing on the steps of the high altar, and inhaled other odour than that of frankincense, it was impossible not to admire the partial realization of the great event prophesied in Patmos, and I could not but exclaim: "Babylon the Great is

fallen, is fallen." And similar indications of her fall have been, and still are, exhibited all over Spain.

When I set out on this journey, I was not quite free from the effects of an attack of pleurisy, and, instead of being benefited by travelling as formerly, suffered the reverse. Reluctantly yielding to the conviction that health had failed, I solicited and obtained permission to visit England; but, taking Cadiz by the way, I found the change of air and occupation so beneficial for the time, that I remained there with my family, and proceeded to carry forward our plans of operation. A Spanish master, not gifted, indeed, with any great ability to teach, but duly examined and licensed, and therefore thought fit in the eye of the law, was placed over the boys' school, and a woman qualified after the same manner was set over the girls'. They kept on foot the routine under my direction, and I taught what they could not communicate. Both schools were duly organized, officially reported, and sanctioned by the municipal authority. Divine worship was publicly solemnized in the principal room of our house, which was fitted up as an oratory, and set apart exclusively for that sacred use. The leading men of the city, proof as yet against adverse representations, regarded our undertaking favourably, and the general aspect of affairs was most encouraging. But the exertion necessary to the re-establishment of the Mission, during the hot months of July and August, was more than my health was equal to sustain, and I was obliged to embark for London on September 1st. Under the blessing of God on skilful medical treatment, and the kindness of the Missionary Secretaries and other friends, I was soon and unexpectedly able to return to the field of labour. Mrs. Rule had remained in Cadiz a month after me, to make domestic and school arrangements preparatory to the arrival of a successor, and joined me in London in October. But we re-embarked soon after her arrival,

and, with devout gratitude to Almighty God, found ourselves again in Cadiz on November 27th. The master and mistress, assisted by a pious young man, trained by ourselves in Gibraltar, had kept up the schools during our absence. The remainder of the year was spent most happily in preaching and teaching. The congregations of British seamen afloat, and the Spanish congregation and schools on shore, formed altogether an important and hopeful charge. One occurrence alone disturbed our enjoyment. Our youngest child, a babe at the breast, died a slow and agonizing death, through the carelessness of its nurse, who had unsuspectingly allowed poison to be mixed with its aliment. There was no sufficient medical aid at hand. A pompous practitioner did, indeed, prescribe, but so ridiculously, that his treatment may be mentioned in illustration of the wretched state of the healing art in Spain, or, rather, the empiricism which unworthily assumes the name. An emollient syrup, to moisten the throat, and the caul of a sheep, steeped in white wine, to be laid on the stomach, were prescribed as remedies to neutralize the effects of mineral poison. When the Gospel shall be taught and felt throughout that country, mind will be emancipated from the fetters of dogmatical authority; professional men will feel their responsibility to God, while intrusted with the lives of their fellow-creatures; and as in our happy land there are not a few Physicians of highly cultivated mind, rectitude of principle, and zeal for the spiritual welfare and eternal salvation of their patients, so will it be there. Law and Physic will be elevated together with the nobler faculty of Theology; the intellectual, as well as the moral, perversion of that fine people will cease; and the torpid grandeur of ancient Spain will be far surpassed by a new generation, ennobled by the truth and love of Christ.

To glance at public affairs: During this year there was a gradually strengthening re-action in the Govern-

ment against liberal principles, with which national dissatisfaction seasonably kept pace. The municipal bodies believed themselves to be possessed of certain rights which were disputed by the Government. Nor was this the only dispute which agitated the country. Religious controversy began at the same time. Infidelity, long inwrought into the Spanish mind, luxuriated more than ever. The Churchmen awkwardly assumed a defensive position, and endeavoured to combat "philosophy, falsely so called," not with "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," but by a feeble imitation of the same philosophy in desultory writings made up of a farrago of falsified history, crude scholasticism, and rambling politics; so that it were hard to say, whether of the two parties displayed the greater folly. The contribution of tithes was also made a subject of vehement dispute. Should it be continued? If so, by whom collected? how appropriated? Probably such discussions, unhallowed as they were on all sides, had their use, by tending to create a habit of inquiry, which might terminate in valuable discoveries, if brought under better guidance. The year closed with uncertain prospect. Civil war still raged; the Government was distrusted, and generally accused of prolonging the conflict by a studied reserve of the means necessary to its successful prosecution; and several of the towns were in open rebellion or ill-maintained tranquillity. Yet, amidst the most unpromising appearances, the hand of God was clearing the way for the messengers of peace, by some improvement in the laws or usages in reference to education. Although the Government had been applied to, not from Cadiz, but from Gibraltar, to suppress our schools in the former city, they were so far desirous to see some approach, at least, to toleration, that they prepared and submitted to the Cortes a project of law, by which foreigners would have been allowed to teach in either public or private schools.

This plan did not pass in Cortes; but in the month of August that part of it which was intended to open the way for foreigners as teachers of youth, without distinction of country or religion, was re-produced in a still more decisive form in a royal order, of which the preamble sets forth, that frequent representations had been made, with application for licence to found Colleges of Humanity, and other private establishments of instruction, and that a state of things had arrived in which that just liberty should be allowed to education, which it ought to have in every civilized country, without omitting, however, the necessary precautions for the protection of youth from the speculations of unqualified persons. The provisions were, 1. That any individual might set up Colleges of Humanity, or any other establishment of education, without previous royal licence; but, 2. That he should make it appear to the municipal authority, that he was full twenty-five years of age, and of honest reputation. 3. That he should give notice of the place where he might purpose to establish his school, in order that it might be ascertained to be in a healthy and suitable situation: and, 4. That these two conditions being fulfilled, the erection of the college or school could not be prohibited. Directions then followed for the guidance of those who might wish to incorporate their establishments in the Universities of the kingdom; which incorporation, however, would depend on the nature of the studies, and the option of their founders and conductors. I have sufficient reason to be assured that a feeling of respect for the high moral character of Protestant educational establishments in general, together with a wish that under favour of a gradually advancing system of toleration Spain might be benefited by our educational labours, induced the Government at that time to concede this most valuable privilege, which, it is much to be regretted, has not yet been made available, since the

abandonment of one frustrated attempt, which will be described in the next chapter.

Agents or friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society had for some time been busy in Spain, and distributed many thousand copies of the holy Scriptures. The large scale of their operations, their publicity, and the rapidity of their movement from place to place, took the country by surprise; and while they circulated placards, and printed advertisements and letters in newspapers, other persons published pastorals, newspaper articles, and judicial orders, and some brisk work necessarily ensued. Whether the zeal of those good men outran their prudence, or whether their prudence outweighed their zeal, (for amidst a variety of exigences both might have happened,) are not questions to be discussed here. They met with reverses; so did we; and whatever may have been my private opinion of some particular measures, all we who are called to labour "in evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true," know too well that not even our best friends at home can perfectly understand the reasons and tendencies of our labours abroad, and that even we who are in the heat of the battle, often disagree in judgment, while charity makes us one; and that the longer we are permitted to serve our Master, the more we feel the insufficiency of our strength, and the fallibility of our decisions, and are, or ought to be, increasingly disposed to co-operation and to prayer. The Bible Society appeared this year before the bar of public opinion in Spain, and could not occupy that position without winning some favourable opinions from those who marked its holy object, and making rich contribution towards the reformation of the people. Let the Committees of that, and the other European and American Bible and Tract Societies, persevere in demonstrating to Spaniards that they are neither to be wearied nor dismayed in well-doing, but that wherever foot may be

set along the frontiers and seaboard of that country, there is an open way by which they will never cease to send in, by every available messenger, the glad tidings of salvation. And the time must come when every true Spanish patriot will bless those who shall have vied, at least, with the fatal zeal of the secret societies of France, the by-gone Socialists of England, and the whole horde of speculative revolutionists and infidels, in diffusing, instead of their pernicious doctrines, the hallowing truths of Jesus Christ, which alone can be the sure foundation of social order, justice, morality, security, good faith, and personal happiness.

"No city, or house, divided against itself, can stand." The unity of the Spanish priesthood in upholding Romanism began about this time to be disturbed. Don Valentin Ortigosa, appointed by the Government to take charge of the vacant see of Malaga, as Bishop elect, not consecrated, and therefore not sworn to Rome, supported and defended an act of his predecessor in the same office, by which an ejected Friar was relieved from his vow of celibacy, and left free to marry. The decision was awarded on his plea that he had made the vow when under age, and that, according to the Council of Trent, it could not be valid. Nothing can be clearer than the chapter of the Council which was carried into effect by Ortigosa; (Conc. Trid., sess. xxv., cap. 15;) but it is notorious that the enactments of that Council, which were made to meet the exigency of those times, have not the force in practice which the apologists of Romish discipline would wish us to believe. Although the ex-Friar was not sixteen years of age when he professed, he had passed for a proper Friar; and that he should marry, was most grievous to the Clergy. If one, why not a thousand? If a Friar, why not a Priest? And if every one who had been entrapped into a monastery in his boyhood, should come forward and disclose the fact, the large number of such

disclosures would fan the flame of indignation, not only against the Friars, but against the secular Clergy, many of whom had not been less zealous in replenishing the coffers of the Church by decoying children from their homes into the cloisters.* But the example would not have been so dangerous to their system, had the man obtained by purchase (as in fact it comes to be) a dispensation from the Pope, because, as the secular Clergy are not bound to celibacy by a special vow, but only under the general obligation of obedience, if one of the Bishops, and one, too, who had never taken the oath of consecration, should assume the exercise of a prerogative hitherto restricted to the Pope, their General Commander-in-Chief, the Clergy might be relieved from the restriction of whatever rules were felt to be too stringent, and the Spanish Hierarchy might give way amidst the multiplying dissensions of the country, and, like a house of cards, might topple at a stroke. Ortigosa contended orally and by the press, that although he had not been consecrated by virtue of a mandate from the Pope, being elected by the Clergy, and appointed by the Sovereign, he was a true Bishop, and possessed the most ample right to perform every pastoral function, just as much as the Bishop of Rome; and argued that the Pope is not Bishop of Bishops, but only *primus inter pares*, and that each Bishop has received full power to bind and loose (in their erroneous acceptation of the phrase, unhappily allowed by

* I was made acquainted with the discreditable history of such a transaction. The Bishop of Cadiz, a few years ago, induced a young lady to abscond from her mother's house, while the family was asleep. She and the portress of a neighbouring convent were provided by the Bishop with sign and counter-sign, so that she was admitted on application at the gate; and the mother, whom I well knew, and who bitterly complained of the inhumanity and fraud committed, was obliged to send to the convent a large sum of money as an endowment for the girl's maintenance.

some Protestants) in the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made him an overseer, without any human intervention whatsoever. His adversaries obtained an order from the Queen, requiring him to appear at Seville before a Board or Synod of Priests, who should examine his doctrine, and report thereon; and directing that meanwhile another person should govern the diocess in his stead. The latter clause of this order was revoked; but he appeared at Seville, and was dealt with inquisitorially. Seeing that nothing less than imprisonment or death awaited him, since his judges were his persecutors, and would insist on the rigorous execution of the old laws against heresy, he appealed to the Supreme Provincial Court of Seville, where he obtained full protection from violence, and eventually returned in triumph to Malaga, re-instated by a subsequent Government in the administration of the bishopric. The next year he published a book against the usurpation of the episcopal authority of others by the Pope alone, and seemed for a time to be an avowed and persevering enemy of the Court of Rome, and as strenuous a supporter of the national authority in Church affairs. But we shall find him, in the year 1841, proceeding in contrariety to his own principles, so as to quash any hopes that might have been entertained of seeing him come out as a Reformer. Reformers of a superior caste are needed; and the perusal of but a few pages of his book is enough to show that he, like the body of Spanish Priests, is deplorably ignorant of the premisses which are laid down, not by the Canonists, but by the inspired writers, and is therefore obscure in argumentation, and perplexed in his conclusions.

CHAPTER IX.

1839. Prosperous State of the Cadiz Mission—First Converts—Opposition of the Bishop and Preachers during Lent—Change of Government, and its Disposition to coalesce with the Priesthood—Newspaper Plot—Proceedings against the Schools—Projected Establishment of a College of Humanity—Proceeding at Court—Removal of the Missionary to Gibraltar, after his Congregation had been dispersed—A royal Order is issued against him—A Remnant of the Congregation is preserved—Conduct of the British Government in 1839—Opposition by a Section of the Spanish Press—Liberal Spaniards vindicated from the Charge of Intolerance—The ex-Friar, Manuel Rodriguez—Discussion of "the religious Question"—Importance of the Press—Projected "Religious Society of Spain"—Fall of Don Carlos—A titular Bishop of Heliopolis called to the rescue of Romanism in Gibraltar.

We began this year in Cadiz with most cheering prospects. The schools were increased in number, containing upwards of a hundred children, and advancing in efficiency. The Spanish congregation not only became larger from week to week, but a considerable proportion of the hearers attended statedly. They did not merely render such attention as might be induced by the novelty of the occasion, or the foreign manner of the Preacher, but appeared to drink in the word of life with avidity. The truths which they heard were made the subject of their reflection and conversation; and during the month of March, and yet more so in April, reverential seriousness, often deepening into visible emotion in the countenances of the hearers, indicated the powerful presence of God's Holy Spirit, giving demonstration and efficacy to the words delivered.

On March 26th the first candidates were received to be members of a Protestant Church. These were one of the elder girls of our school, and her mother. They proposed themselves spontaneously and unexpectedly to us. They gave every evidence of sincerity, and were soon joined by other persons, who still retain their profession of Protestantism; and there is reason to believe, that they experience, in some degree, the hallowing influences which characterize true religion. Our Mission had gained an extraordinary degree of acceptance among the inhabitants of Cadiz, and the majority of the members of the Ayuntamiento, or Town Council, professed themselves to be very favourable to my proceedings. During Lent we had been constantly attacked by furious denunciations from the pulpits; and the Bishop, being a zealous ex-Friar of the old school, and our opponent from the first, gave as broad hints to the people as he well could venture, that they should take up the matter,* and bring us to an end. But by those appeals to the public the Priests frustrated their own purpose, inasmuch as people would rather sympathize with, and aid, any one, whether good or bad, who should be persecuted by the Priests. For my part, I avoided, in my sermons, all allusion to theirs; and it was precisely at that time that our congregation was in its best state. We hoped that when the Lent battery should cease its harmless attack, and their effort to excite us to controversy should have failed, we might go on in peace; and none of our friends apprehended any interruption. But we were for that time disappointed.

The Bishop had failed with former Governors of the

* Again we admire the happy freedom from political restraint which Rome enjoys. She can use as her own the fierce democrat, and the heartless absolutist. She filiates alike the virtuous ascetic, and the mercenary assassin. She is restrained by none but God, by him who "holds the powers of hell in chains."

city, Clonard excepted. He, or his agents, had failed with former Governments. He had appealed to the Magistrates, but they had refused to hear him in an affair which they rightly considered as beyond their cognizance. He had appealed to the population, and endeavoured to inflame the rabble, but heard no response, nor had the satisfaction of witnessing any popular tumult. But now his convenient season was come. The Government, as already stated, was in hostility with the general feeling of the country, and the men in office appointed by that Government partook of its character, or affected it, to court favour. In this position of the party, a sort of coalition with the Church was brought about, and the unwise experiment of associating the Clergy with themselves was tried by the ruling powers. Availing himself of the juncture, the Bishop plied all his resources in Cadiz and Madrid, aided by the civil Governor but recently appointed,—an obscure person, so poor as to be almost in a state of beggary, without the honesty which would render poverty respectable, and disagreeable even to those to whom it was supposed he would have been acceptable. The universal impression was, that as he was greedy of gifts, he had been engaged to serve on that occasion by the Prelate to whom he paid obsequious attentions. With him was associated the third Alcalde, (there are four in all,) one of those objects in society which the painter would "cast discreetly into shade," and the pen of the fourth Alcalde, formerly an avowed infidel, but latterly a devotee, was engaged in behalf of the Church. The other Magistrates stood aloof while the following plan was carried out.

On Sunday, March 31st, an article, written, as was understood, by the fourth Alcalde, appeared in the "Tiempo" newspaper, denouncing the school and congregation as contrary to the constitution, illegal,

and dangerous, predicting a religious war, in addition to the civil war then raging, censuring the Town Council for not having attended to the matter when brought before them, and intimating to the Magistrates, that if they did not see to the fulfilment of "the law," they had better quit their station. Next morning the third Alcalde summoned the Schoolmaster to appear before him, whom he interrogated; but as his account did not quite suit their purpose, the same Alcalde required me to appear before him the day after. I went at the appointed time, but found that he chose to be absent and close his office, leaving me to make one among the rabble brought in from the streets by the police. I therefore walked home again, and informed him by note, that I would gladly do myself the pleasure of talking with him at any time and place he would appoint; but that if he wished to cite me judicially, he must do so through the British Consul. On this he sent an open summons by the hand of a police soldier, which, of course, I did not accept. He walked away to the military Governor, and asked for a party of soldiers to take me by force; but that officer refused to commit himself to so violent, unjust, and hazardous a proceeding. His worship, therefore, cooled down, and wrote me a sort of friendly note, begging the favour of an interview the next evening. I called on him accordingly "for a conference." As I was perfectly in order in the plan of my schools, I maintained my point; but he and his friends declared that, being a Protestant establishment, it was illegal, while I contended, that it was not unconstitutional, and therefore not illegal. Still they were unwilling to resort to compulsory measures, which would expose them to much odium, and we parted as we met. But as the city was then under martial law, to keep the Liberals in check, the constitution was a dead letter for

the time; and on the 4th of the month, being made aware that the Governor mentioned above would probably close the school by an act of authority, I thought it most prudent to elude the blow by myself suspending the schools for a time, and sending in official notice, that I had done so. The next resource was to make use of the royal order issued by the former Government, subsequently to my application in Madrid, and in that view I took the necessary steps, —obtained the written official sanction of the Syndic, and Judge of First Instance, who cordially aided by their influence; and, on the 13th instant, I delivered the whole into the hands of the Governor. His Excellency could not prohibit the establishment of a new school, as the prescribed conditions were fully observed; but he withheld his reply, and wrote to Madrid. There it was brought about, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should send a note to the gentleman acting as British Minister in the absence of Sir George Villiers, stating the Queen's determination, that if I did not leave the country, I should be proceeded against as a State criminal for having broken the laws of the kingdom, by which the exercise of any other than the dominant religion was prohibited *under pain of death* (*la ultima pena*). It seems that the British *Chargé d'Affaires* saw no reason to object to the pretension of the Queen to enforce the penalty of death on a British subject on a religious account, but desired the Consul in Cadiz to communicate this to me verbally, which was done; and as I knew already, that I should not be efficiently supported by British representatives in Spain in remonstrating against any kind or degree of persecution, I removed, with my family, to Gibraltar, and sent round the Schoolmaster who had formerly been there, to shepherd, as far as might be, the scattered flock.

But before the arrival of that intelligence from

Madrid, we had to sustain further persecution. A notice was served on me as follows :—

"Having come to know that there are assembled in your house persons of both sexes to hear discourses on religious matters which are not in accordance with the Catholic religion, and as this is found to be prohibited by our laws, I give you notice, as the authority charged to see that these laws be obeyed, that you must abstain from holding such meetings in your house; with the understanding that otherwise I shall adopt the measures which those laws allow me, in order to prevent it. God keep you many years. Cadiz, April 7th, 1839. Juan Pablo Gomez." It would have been difficult, if not impracticable, to institute any legal proceeding against me for discoursing in my dwelling-house on any subject; and most especially to find a tribunal in Spain before which to cite me as having offended against the so called "Catholic religion;" and therefore no one had hitherto ventured to offer any hinderance to those meetings. But in pursuance of their plan, they had published an appeal to themselves against themselves, then pretended to be alarmed, and, making the matter one of public peace, proceeded against me as Magistrates. Had I refused obedience to the order of the Alcalde, as the case was then, I should have been proceeded against forthwith on the new charge of resisting authority. I therefore replied :—"I have received an official from your worship, in which you give me notice to abstain from holding religious meetings in my house. Such an injunction causes me great surprise, after having held them for so long a time without believing that they were contrary to the present constitution of Spain, and no authority forbidding them. However, in view of your worship's official, I do not hold them for the present. God keep you, &c. W. H. Rule."

The congregation assembled as usual in the evening, but intermingled with some unknown persons of suspicious appearance. I ascended the desk, but instead of any act of worship, read both the above documents, dismissed the people, and withdrew. It was providential that nothing induced me to give any address; for in the expectation that I should do so, as we found immediately afterwards, ruffians were sent into the oratory to excite disturbance, and a body of soldiers, or armed police, were drawn up on the opposite side of the street, to break into the house on hearing any noise. The matter would then have assumed a new form; and, as in thousands of instances, the upholders of Popery would have visited on their victim the penalty of a riot created by themselves. The congregation departed unwillingly; and as soon as they had left the place where the accustomed decorum of worship imposed silence, they gave vent to their feeling of indignation in loud murmuring, unawed by the bayonets (British arms in Spanish hands) which were arrayed against them.

Notwithstanding my having yielded to the Alcalde's notice, I could not cease from domestic worship; and as our family was not small, and two or three personal friends, either British subjects or Protestants, joined us on the two following Sundays, we solemnized divine worship in a private manner, sentinels and spies being posted near the house. On the second Sunday, just as I was offering prayer, an Alcalde and two soldiers forced their way into my residence, and stationed themselves at the door, much to the alarm of our little company. However, they waited there quietly while I began and finished a sermon. After closing the service, I went out to inquire their business; and on charging them with flagrant breach of the constitution of Spain, by entering a private house by force without competent authority, the soldiers stole down stairs

backwards, as if ashamed of their errand, and the Alcalde followed. So did divine Providence again guard us, when redress was not to be had (for I sought it unsuccessfully from the British Consul) from any earthly power.

A day or two after this the Queen's pleasure was made known to me, and I went round to Gibraltar. The Government at Madrid was made acquainted with that movement; and as soon as they knew that I was fairly out of the country, they had recourse to a plan to make it appear abroad that they could not have taken any measure, nor uttered any threat, that could have induced me to leave Spain, and even that I was still resident in the country. On the 23d of the month, an official communication was despatched to the British Legation at Madrid, that I was positively to leave Cadiz the next day; so that on the 27th, or 28th, the Spanish Minister must have been advised of the fact in due course. But on the 30th, that is to say, on the arrival of the next mail with intelligence of my actual departure, out came the following royal order, addressed through the Minister of the Interior to the Civil Governor of Cadiz, in answer to the very letter in which he *must* have stated that I was certainly leaving the country:—

"I have laid before Her Majesty the Queen Governess your communication, dated the 23d inst., relative to the English Methodist Clergyman, Mr. Rule, who, with criminal tenacity, attempts to propagate his doctrines in your capital, making use both of preaching and instruction. Her Majesty, being fully informed, has been pleased to approve of all the measures which you have taken in this serious business; and in order to obviate the evils which might result to Spain from permitting fresh germs of discord to be introduced into the country, has thought good to command that Mr. Rule be forbidden to open any sort

of establishment, whether school of primary instruction, or college of humanity, or any other, in which, directly by himself, or by persons under his influence, he might disseminate doctrines contrary to our religious unity. It is also the will of Her Majesty, that the said Rule be not permitted, under any pretext, to have meetings, conferences, or preachings, in his house; and that if, in spite of this prohibition, he persist in such exercises, which are contrary to our belief and to our laws, you, after having received the proper written report, in which the facts shall be well proved, shall cause him to leave the province. Finally, Her Majesty wills that you should enjoin on the Commissions of Primary Instruction, that they watch with the greatest care over all the schools of their district, in order to avoid that there be introduced into them the doctrines which this fanatical sectary so earnestly endeavours to spread abroad."

An Englishman, free in his own country, and especially free to teach, preach, and worship God according to the rule of Scripture and conscience; an Englishman, accustomed to pay cheerful submission to good and Christian laws, and used to regard the magistracy of his neighbourhood as equally his guardians and his friends; an Englishman, happy from his youth in the intercourse of hallowed friendship and sacred communion, hitherto confident, under divine Providence, in the security of his dwelling; cannot find language to express the sensations of horror excited under such strokes of foreign tyranny. Nay, were it even possible to give utterance to those impressions, he would prefer to use the language and vocabulary of the unhappy country in which they were endured, rich enough for all uses, rather than to desecrate the English language by even an effort at such description.

By the expedient above mentioned, the few who had become most intimately attached to the Mission were

gathered together, and as soon as the vigilance of the police was somewhat relaxed, meetings were held in another house, and on a smaller scale; and, although this was well known, they were not interfered with then.

Not a few Spaniards expressed very strongly their abhorrence of this persecution; and it was generally expected that some effort would be made in England to obtain a free enjoyment of religious liberty in Spain, without which foreigners, as well as natives, must ever be exposed to numberless vexations; and the children of English and other foreigners, being Spaniards by birth, must inevitably lose the common right of exercising their own religious worship, a right which ought to be considered by all parties as inalienable. Appeal, indeed, was made to England; but "there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded." On the contrary, the hands of the persecutors were strengthened by a disclaimer on the part of the *British Government* of that time, of the right to protection of all such British subjects as should become obnoxious to the Spanish priesthood, and under pretext of religion be prosecuted at their instigation. The officer acting temporarily in the Legation at Madrid, in the absence of the British Minister, in reply to an application from myself to be informed of the tenor of his instructions, declined giving information, on the ground of my not being then in Spain. However, sufficient documentary evidence of the abandonment, by anticipation, of British Christians who might be persecuted in Spain, is afforded by a copy of the instructions issued by the Consul in Cadiz, to the Vice-Consul, a hot Papist, in Jerez de la Frontera, and by him communicated in writing (perhaps by an oversight, as such communications to a party concerned are more usually verbal) to a friend of mine who had distributed some tracts. It was a circular addressed to all the

Vice-Consuls, and is as follows:—"Circular. I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to instruct you to warn any British subjects who may attempt, by preaching, or by distributing books in Spain, to assail the Roman Catholic religion, that they will render themselves liable to *a state-prosecution*, which may possibly end in their imprisonment, or their expulsion from the country; and that Her Majesty's Mission in Madrid cannot be expected to protect them from the consequences of such an open violation of the laws of Spain."

Thus was every case that could possibly occur virtually pre-judged, and the *animus* of a pseudo-Protestant Government officially divulged. Here also was an implied confession of injustice; for if the obsolete statute-laws of the country could not be enforced against an alleged heretic, (and by experience it was found that they could not be,) why should the Foreign Secretary of our Sovereign, whose peculiar duty it was to watch over the safety of Englishmen abroad, be so officious in his services to a party, as to hand them over, by anticipative and full consent, to suffer state prosecution as public criminals, at a time when the ameliorated state of feeling in Spain itself had already placed them beyond the effect of the laws to which his Lordship referred, prescribing imprisonment, banishment, infamy, confiscation, and even *death by fire?* When this became known in Spain, it excited wonder that the British Government should be less tolerant than the Spanish nation, and that, being Protestant, it should connive at and aid in perpetuating a ban upon Protestantism in any foreign country. We had been formerly dealt with cautiously, as being Englishmen; for it was taken for granted that we might not be oppressed; but Lord Palmerston dissolved that charm. This notwithstanding, no act of an individual, however high in office, can deprive an Englishman of his right

of protection, so long as he does not forfeit that right by his own misconduct; nor can it relieve a Christian Minister from the obligation to preach the Gospel in any country under heaven in which his lot may be cast.

The existence of Protestantism in Cadiz was a new and stronger cause of alarm to the priesthood. Bibles and tracts might lie by unread, or the effects resulting from the perusal of them might be only speculative, and for want of union and system among the converts might weaken and die away, without having assumed any tangible form; but here was a Church suddenly sprung up in the midst of them, and encouraged by those who under former systems would have been foremost to suppress it. An attempt was therefore made to elicit public opinion in favour of Popery, or to excite popular opposition, by means of the periodical press. Articles came out in Madrid and Cadiz, so written as to produce alarm, if possible. The first of these, sent up from Cadiz to the *Piloto*, a daily paper of the capital, represented me as a sort of picked man, ready trained for the work of making proselytes, and then proceeded to say: "He has opened a public gratuitous school,* which he has placed under the name of a titled master; he has a large number of pupils of both sexes; he teaches the languages which he knows, and preaches his doctrine publicly on Sundays, carried away by an enthusiasm which inspires his followers. One of the Alcaldes has endeavoured to put an end to this new source of discord, and it seems that the Methodist purposes, notwithstanding, to open a College of Humanity." It was hinted that the Government would be exposed to demonstrations of the discontent of persons of tender conscience, and that the natural effect of Methodism would be infidelity. The anti-liberal press raised

* Our schools were not quite gratuitous: each child paid a *peceta*, or ten-pence, monthly.

thereupon a politico-theologico-philosophical polemic, extolling the ancient "Catholicism" of Spain. "Such," said they, "is the nation in which Protestantism seeks proselytes; such is the nation in which the responsible councillors of the Crown consent to it; and such is the only spectacle which was wanting to our eyes, already suffused with tears, that we might have to say that we had seen all the historical institutions pass away, one after the other, that we had seen all the national feelings of our heart successively extinguished, and that not even the memory of our past glories remained. To the present Ministry was reserved the good fortune of breaking the only link which, uniting the Spaniards of these days with those of ancient times, had still preserved entire the historic unity of Spanish society. To the present Ministry was reserved the happiness of receiving as guest a religion which our forefathers and our Kings fought against in every field of battle. To the present Ministry was reserved the glory of consenting that anarchy should penetrate into the hearts, after having allowed it in the minds, of men, and tolerated it in the streets. To the present Ministry was reserved the glory of adding to the anarchy of principles, and the anarchy of actions, the last and most deplorable of all anarchies, that of religious forms. If the Ministers do not take this subject into consideration, it may be discussed by the Congress and the Senate. We, for our part, do not conceal that it may serve as matter of formal accusation, and that, if it were necessary, we should not shrink from becoming the accusers."*

The alarm was taken. Another day was not allowed to pass without an authorized disavowal, on behalf of the Ministers, of having abetted the essay of Protestantism in Cadiz, with assurance that, on the contrary, they had already taken measures to visit that scandal-

* *El Piloto*, No. 45, April 15th, 1839.

ous attempt with punishment, and to prevent its repetition. But while they protested their intention to preserve Popery inviolate, they oddly enough retorted on the opposite party the charge of having "more than tolerated that Spain should be inundated with the remittances of the Bible Societies, and with the multitude of dangerous and prohibited books, on religious subjects, which had been distributed all over the Peninsula,"* and the blame was thrown on the Ofalia Ministry.† The truth is, that persons of opposite political views had been favourable to the circulation of Bibles, and to the progress of our educational labours. This is a most encouraging and, at the same time, instructive fact, as it teaches that in Spain, as in every other country, the Evangelist can, and ought to, hold himself free from all political parties, and that God honours his own cause by employing forces which are hostile between themselves, to be concurrent agencies in subservience to its advance.

It is but just to vindicate liberal Spain from the charge of having participated in acts of persecution. An article went its round in the London newspapers, headed, "Bigotry of the Liberal Government of Spain," and containing correspondence with relation to the proposed erection of a church and establishment of a Protestant Chaplain in the Island of Cuba. The British residents at Havannah, capital of that island, desiring the services of an English Episcopalian Minister, subscribed to the amount of between two and three thousand dollars towards the building, and intended to contribute eventually to the maintenance of a Chaplain; but applied to Lord Palmerston "to procure for them from the Court of Spain permission to perform divine worship according to the forms of the Church of England," and termed the permission for which they

* *Mensajero del Pueblo*, No. 250, April 17th, 1839.

† *El Tiempo de Cadiz*, April 27th, 1839.

prayed *a concession!* It appears that his Lordship thereupon "instructed Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at Madrid to request the Spanish Government to authorize the Captain-General of Cuba *to allow* a British Chaplain to perform divine worship at the Havannah according to the forms of the Church of England." After long delay and repeated applications at the Foreign Office, an answer was obtained, drily informing the agent of the British residents in the Spanish colony, that "the Spanish Government had expressed their regret that they could not allow a British Protestant place of worship to be established at the Havannah."

On this affair but two observations are necessary. First, That the Government of Spain was not then liberal, but so notoriously unfaithful to the cause of liberty, so hated by the majority of the nation, that it fell shortly afterwards, amidst general execration. Secondly, That neither in Cuba, Spain, nor anywhere else should British residents *ask permission* to solemnize the worship of God according to this or that rite, but worship him as he commands. Of course, they would avoid needless controversies, and proceedings that might raise unnecessary questions with the people and their rulers. Such applications for *concession* to exercise an undoubted right, however well-meant they may be, are highly injurious to the interests of the Protestant religion in those countries. Wherever Englishmen can assemble to worship God, they should do so; and every attempt to hinder them should be regarded as a grievance to be remedied by proper means. The inquisitorial laws, obsolete but not repealed, were not made for British subjects, and, as such, we know nothing of their existence. When only acting by ourselves, without any visible union in worship with Spaniards, we are free to exercise and enjoy every pastoral care and religious privilege, and should not voluntarily place our right at the disposal of a Spanish Government or tribunal; nor can we do

so without dereliction of our duties to God and our country. This is not said by way of censure on the gentlemen who thought themselves obliged to solicit foreign sanction, nor on their agent, who on a little reflection might have confined his application to our own Government, for the pecuniary assistance provided by Act of Parliament, and left the Minister to any correspondence he might choose with the Court of Madrid. It is merely a suggestion which may be of some use in time to come, bearing in mind that if we volunteer petitions, others are as free to deny as to grant, and may be expected to exercise the presumed prerogative which we concede to them for the time, but which, after all, they cannot eventually maintain, nor construe our incaution into a precedent prejudicial to our indisputable right. But to return to Spain Proper.

At the very time when the *pros* and *contras* relating to the Cadiz persecution supplied the prevailing topic of discourse in that city, and the affair was being noised abroad as above stated, an incident occurred which was laid hold of for the moment with avidity by our adversaries.

An unknown person, of extremely grotesque appearance, calling himself Father Manuel Rodriguez, and stating that he was an ex-Franciscan Friar, made his appearance in the town of Guadalajara, about ten leagues from Madrid. He was a tall, slender person, with pale complexion, clad in a flowing blue mantle without hood or cape, a white vest, and short loose trousers, with bare legs and feet. On his head was an immensely broad-brimmed Barbary straw hat, such as the Moorish peasants use, to protect their shoulders from the sun. He had an abundant beard, long black hair, well-combed, and flowing over his shoulders, divided from front to crown in the Nazarene manner. His waist was bound with a thick silk cord and tassels. In his bosom he carried a picture of the immaculate con-

ception. His pocket was empty; and in his hand he held a copy of the Bible in Spanish, from the depôt of the Bible Society in Gibraltar. His habits were extremely ascetic, such as only an iron constitution could sustain, bating intervals of luxurious indulgence. He harangued the people of Guadalajara in the streets, declaimed against the Pope, and uttered the wildest notions with uncommon vehemence. He had not been long at work when "the authorities" marked him as a suspicious person, and he was taken into custody. A parish Priest visited him while under arrest, and found him undismayed, and still preaching to those who had access to him. He was therefore placed in close confinement, and statements of the phenomenon were sent up to Madrid, in order to announce to the country the presumed discovery of an emissary of mine, and a specimen of Methodistical doctrine and proceeding. The Liberals adopted his cause, and some defended him on the infidel scheme of toleration. I had known the man in Gibraltar, where he, like not a few other vagrants, had endeavoured to make use of a plausible religious appearance to gain his ends, and I had some trouble to get rid of him; but he set out for Constantinople, as he said, in search of the true Vicar of Christ, the Pope not answering, in his view, to that description. After an interval of eighteen months, he re-appeared in the heart of Spain. I therefore published a statement of his proceedings (bad enough they were!) at Gibraltar, which, it seems, was equally serviceable to his safety and our reputation.

But a happy effect of these occurrences was the admission of what came to be styled "the Religious Question," in a controversy conducted by some clever writers, between Spaniards themselves, on the subject of the Protestant Reformation. I regret to have had access to the productions of only one party, in which the effete, yet in Spain unanswered, calumnies of the

seventeenth century were dealt out by wholesale, and Protestantism represented as equally destructive of good government, national greatness, sound morals, and the fine arts. Yet the time had not arrived that the Spanish press could be employed to meet those attacks with scriptural defence; and we could only be gratified so far as that was made a public question which would have been settled authoritatively, without discussion, but a few years before. The eye of the public was thus directed towards the labours of the Reformed churches all over the world, and the manifold operations of our great Societies became generally known throughout the country for the first time; so that the year 1839 may be marked as the period when the Spanish press became the medium of extensive information to Spaniards respecting the Christian world beyond them, and the salutary custom began of bringing *the religious question* under open, although, as it must be confessed, unfair examination.

In connexion with this circumstance it cannot be superfluous to observe, that every opportunity should be made use of to put the Spanish people in possession of works in their own language, by which they may be instructed on all matters of primary importance, so as to have within themselves full expositions of scriptural truth, and vindications of the Reformers and Reformed Churches from the misrepresentations which so long indisposed them from giving truth a hearing. A small beginning has been made; but it remains to provide a full set of biblical and historical works, by means of which, keeping above formal controversy, general readers, or theological and historical students, may have ready access to knowledge which, up to this time, has been almost entirely concealed, even from well-educated men. We must go on distributing Bibles and tracts by thousands; but a reformation of Spanish literature should be seriously contemplated and begun.

Such an undertaking may seem to be difficult; but it is far from being impracticable, and it were easy to suggest methods for its prosecution.

If an additional motive to perseverance may be gathered from the expectations excited in our adversaries, and from their consequently increased opposition, we have such a motive now. The priesthood, in despair of being able to defend themselves from the aggression waged against them by the old methods of legalized violence, fell into an imitation of our measures, and projected the organization of a society to be called "The Religious Society of Spain;" the constitution and object of which may be understood by the following extract from their Prospectus, which will doubtless be read with interest:—

"It has been particularly in the troublous and unhappy times of revolution and anarchy which have thrown society into confusion, and periled it by severe trials, that the enemies of religion and humanity, gaining the ascendency, have been able to circulate fearlessly certain books and pamphlets, in which, attacking the doctrines of our holy religion, they teach impiety and unbelief; and they have dispersed them with profusion, in order, especially, to seduce incautious youth. This has been the fatal epoch, in which a disguised sect, whose associates call themselves Catholics, have caused the greatest damage to religion; carrying their audacity so far as to make incursions into Catholic Spain, in order to diffuse doctrines which are proscribed by holy Church, and by the visible head which she has on earth, which is the Roman Pontiff, thus setting at nought the decisions of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and maintaining what is reprobated, and acknowledged to be detestable, by the Prelates of the Church who hear the voice of the supreme Shepherd. Under the mask of hypocrisy they refuse him the primacy of jurisdiction in the universal Church,

and even dispute his honour inch by inch, marking out the ground, and measuring the distances, just as in political affairs the revolutionists do with governments, either to drive them into straits, or to dictate the law to them.

"Protestantism, bold and daring, has sent emissaries into some capitals of Spain, and established schools which would have spread pestilence and contagion, if the religious Government, and the voice of the Prelates, had not been powerful enough to shut them up. But neither the one nor the other *will ever desist;*" (God grant they never may!) "and, taking new forms, they are preparing to spread their perversions of doctrine, by circulating pamphlets which attack even sound morality.(!) The state of immorality which is unhappily evident, is proof of their introduction, in spite of the prohibition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

"With the salutary object of impeding the activity of those who wish to spread horror in matters of religion, and to demoralize the people, there have been established in foreign countries Christian Societies, which are of the greatest service to the state. Those organized in Paris, Lyon, and Carcassonne, protected by Government, are productive of the greatest benefit in that country. Their religion not only extends to the defence of Catholicism against the attacks of impiety, unbelief, and false philosophy, but also to supply and bring together well-instructed Priests, who, full of the spirit of charity, go forth on Missions, carrying out everywhere the light of sound morality, and society itself gathers from such labours the sweet fruit of true peace.

"In our Spain such Societies have not been established; but the necessity that they should be is acknowledged. Bounds must be set to the torrent of bad doctrine, and the seeds of immorality and cor-

ruption of manners must be choked. The establishment of a religious Society is therefore necessary. But although the thought has been suggested, and the Spanish Prelates consider this Society as affording the most useful resource in order to bring about a reformation of manners, and defend our holy religion against all its enemies, it will not be finally established without the expressed and explicit approbation of Her Majesty's Government. The persons of whom it would consist wish to be in direct dependence on the Government. They do not desire to assume any authority or jurisdiction, either in temporal or spiritual matters, but to pursue their object under the most rigorous inspection" (they meant to say, *the most complete sanction)* "of the Government and of the Prelates, merely giving notice of the books which may have been introduced from abroad, or printed in the country; recommending those which contain Christian maxims and sound moral instruction, and denouncing to the Government, and to the Lord Bishops, those which contain pernicious doctrines, that they may impugn their errors." (Noble employment in a free country!) "And if, from the subscriptions of beneficent members, or from the re-impressions of useful works, any funds shall be collected, they will be set apart to contribute to the Missions (or out-of-door preaching) which will be kept up in the capitals, where they are much needed, under the authority of the Bishops. And if there should be still further proceeds, they shall be appropriated to the societies of Paris, Lyon, and Carcassonne, for the support of Missions to the Heathen, or to the holy places of Jerusalem. The Religious Society, which desires an absolute dependence on the Government of Her Majesty and the Lord Bishops, on denouncing the books or pamphlets which may be introduced, will make a frank avowal of the just motives which actuate them in so doing. It will not

exercise for its own part the least shadow of authority, but will be as a fiscal, who, observing the operations of the anti-Catholics, will denounce them to the Government, and to the diocesan Bishops, that by their *power* they may place a strong barrier, and prevent the circulation of the impious books and pamphlets which the Missionary, or Bible Societies, would wish to introduce among us. The Religious Society, which will have to be installed in Madrid, as the most central point, will be willing to give whatever account Her Majesty's Government may require with respect to its labours in the cognizance of books, and of those which it may publish in order to teach the people sound morality, making it the constant principle and rule of its operations, not to do any thing secretly; since, bearing in mind the maxim of the Gospel, that he who does evil hates the light, the Religious Society only proposes, as the object of its labours, to promote the general good by endeavouring after a reformation of manners, the defence of the holy, Catholic, one, Roman religion, and all, as already said, *with absolute dependence on the Government of Her Majesty, and the Lord Bishops.* Such is the object of public utility in which the Religious Society about to be established in the capital of the Spanish nation will be employed."

So far from being dismayed at this formidable array, which was brought into action for a short time, but came to nothing, as we shall see, in the year 1841, we could not but rejoice at seeing the laws of the Partidas, the Inquisition, and the Tribunal of the Faith, succeeded by an eleemosynary Society, formed for counteracting the advances of the Gospel by means which would rather tend to its furtherance; and the most unsuspecting could not but observe the ill-disguised attempt to lull the apprehensions of the public, and the jealousy of the Government, (bad as it then

was,) under an awkward affectation of honesty and submission, a virtue and habit which Romish Priests cannot long imitate and assume.

Amidst all this tempest, our Missionary bark rode securely at Gibraltar, under British protection; and the influence of our proceedings on the public mind was felt and confessed there also. It was in the month of October that the Centenary of Methodism was celebrated throughout all the Circuits and Stations of our church; and one part of our festivity there, was a school-treat, given in the old English manner. By the kind permission of Sir Alexander Woodford, (the day of whose departure from that garrison, lately, was one of general regret to the inhabitants, and the ceremonial of his embarkation like that of a funeral, for even the officers who attended him to the water-side wept,) with a body of upwards of four hundred children, accompanied by the leading members of the local society, we paid our respects to His Excellency at his quarters, went in procession through the town, and assembled on the neutral ground in a spacious shed, kindly lent us by its proprietor. We were indebted to the police for their attention; but their services were not needed. The inhabitants turned out to witness and to welcome. The cheerful countenances of the parents of our children who hovered around us, and some of whom would now and then steal a kiss of their little ones as we moved slowly and uninterruptedly through the dense mass of spectators, bespoke the general sympathy with our object, and approval of our proceedings; and presented a lively comment on the sentence exhibited on our banner, in the two prevailing languages of the native inhabitants: *Hasta aqui nos ha socorrido el Señor.* עד הנה עזרנו ה׳—Which is, being interpreted, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

It was not to be expected that the more zealous

supporters of the Romish Church there should look on this with placidity; and they recorded their feelings in a letter which was despatched to the Irish Priest who had been commissioned by the Roman Propaganda to restore declining orthodoxy in Gibraltar, and was invested with episcopal dignity, I say not authority, for that purpose. As the Bishop chose to get the letter printed, it may be copied and reprinted here, as a pleasing testimonial, *ab hoste*, to the efficiency of our Mission.

"*Gibraltar, October 30th*, 1839.

"My Lord,

"The revered and paternal letter which, under date of the 3d of June last, your Lordship was pleased to address to the undersigned Vicar-general Apostolic, to the Clergy and members of the assembly of Elders of the Catholic Church of this place, was duly received. Its truly interesting and important contents would most assuredly have been earlier noticed, had not an idea prevailed, that your speedy arrival would have afforded us the opportunity of offering, in person, the assurance of the respectful cordiality with which we are prepared to receive and welcome the new and most worthy Pastor, selected by the common father of the faithful, to guide the flock of which we are a part.

"Notwithstanding the delay which, contrary to our expectations, has since occurred, we should have continued to await your Lordship's coming, were it not that *circumstances of a most afflicting and alarming character* impel us to lay before your Lordship the melancholy state, and still more melancholy prospects, of the Church confided to your Lordship's pastoral care. For some time past, as your Lordship is perhaps aware, sectarian industry has been at work, in various ways, in endeavours (but too often successful) to seduce the unwary to wander from the one fold into the paths of error. Of late their educational establish-

ments, conducted with a zeal truly worthy of a better cause, have succeeded in poisoning the stream at its source; and the 25th of the present month exhibited the humiliating and distressing spectacle of upwards of four hundred children, of both sexes, the majority of them the offspring of Catholic parents, walking through the town in solemn procession, openly and avowedly under the banner of Methodism. In this state of things your Lordship's wisdom will easily perceive that some decided measures are imperatively called for; and yet we are so circumstanced as to be hardly in a condition to take them. The advanced age and infirmities of the Vicar-general, prevent him from taking personally the active part* which he would otherwise willingly do; and until the arrival of your Lordship, neither he nor the lay portion of the congregation feel authorized in adopting any new plan, fearing the possibility of its interfering in some way with those arrangements which your Lordship may have already made, or may hereafter determine on. In ignorance of the exact period when your Lordship's arrival is likely to put an end to this state of most embarrassing suspense, we have felt it our duty most humbly to present the subject to the notice of your Lordship, most respectfully suggesting the expediency of your Lordship's presence here at the earliest possible period consistent with convenience; and praying, that if this much-wished-for event is likely to be still further postponed, your Lordship, though absent, will be pleased to favour us with your paternal counsels, directions, and assistance. The most urgent want which we experience, is that of an efficient organization of our schools. For females we have yet no establishment whatever; and here it is that our adversaries triumph most. In addition to this, we have to

* But he had once taken a rather active part in trying to get me knocked on the head.

lament that the resources afforded by this place have not enabled us to provide instruction for the boys on a scale according to our wishes, or commensurate with the sum contributed for the support of the school. We mention this, in the hope that your Lordship, before leaving England, will be pleased to take measures for supplying a deficiency which here is at present without remedy."

(Then follows a paragraph relating to a proposed provision for the old Vicar, about to retire, and then the signatures.)

"JOHN B. ZINO, Vicar Apostolic,
"ANTHONY PORRAL,
"ALEXANDER SHEA,
"JOSEPH FRANCIA,
"FRANCISCO XAVIER MACHADO,
"EMANUEL GONZALES DE ESTRADA,
"JOHN BONELL,
"GERONIMO QUARTIN,
"PETER QUARTIN,
"JOHN PARODY,
"JOSEPH GUIBARA,
"ANGELO BONFANTE.

"The Right Rev. Dr. Hughes, Bishop of Heliopolis,
"Vicar-general Apostolic."

In Spain, the year 1839 was marked by the triumph of the constitutional cause over Carlism. Yet this triumph was not won by the exclusive use of open and undisguised means. Had the quarrel been closed by negotiation, had Carlos fallen in the field, or had his army been beaten in pitched battle, the friends of liberty would have rejoiced in the event; and the effusion of blood, once for all, might have been regarded as tending, on the whole, to prevent the greater slaughter of a more protracted war. But Carlos was betrayed by his General, Maroto, and forsaken by a

great part of his troops, who had grown weary in his forlorn cause. Espartero, the constitutional General, and Maroto embraced each other in sight of their respective troops, which had taken the ground in expectation of a battle. The soldiery on both sides simultaneously laid down their arms at the moment when they had thought to have drawn them for the slaughter, and rushed into each other's arms with shouts of joy. Sublime embrace!

The decisive stroke was thus given to the civil war, and to the hopes of the priesthood, who had been gaining powerfully on the Government of that time; for in the critical state of affairs their adherence was of the first importance to either party. But when the war was over, the nation became impatient for the consummation of civil reform. The fabric of national liberty had been planned, the ground partially cleared, materials brought, and the foundations were laid. But that was all. The Executive claimed prerogatives, and promulgated doctrines, utterly inconsistent with the freedom of any people; and a new chapter was again open in the present book of Spanish history, the close of which, we must hope and pray, will be such as to excite the gratitude of the Christian world to the supreme Disposer of events.

CHAPTER X.

1840. Expulsion of the Society's Agent from Cadiz—The Author's visit to that City—Protestants fined and threatened —Further Persecution prevented—Arrangements made for Worship and pastoral Correspondence—Temporary Revival of Popery and Despotism—Popular Discontent—Close of the Civil War—*Pronunciamiento*—Provisional Government —Address of Madrid to Christina, the Queen Governess— She is compelled to form a new Cabinet, and to dissolve the Cortes—She abdicates the Regency, and leaves Spain—It is proposed to alienate the Property of the secular Clergy— They resist, but are overpowered—The titular Bishop of Heliopolis is prosecuted and imprisoned at Gibraltar.

DURING the first quarter of this year, (1840,) the Society's Agent continued his operations in Cadiz, both among the English and Spaniards, and a few more of the latter joined themselves to the infant class of Protestants, professing a "desire to flee from the wrath to come." No school was assembled, nor public worship held, neither of which would have been *then* allowed; but there was an encouraging attendance at the private religious meetings. For several weeks, however, watch was set on the house, the usual alarm was sounded in the Lent sermons; and although the number of persons known to frequent the house was so small that a case on which to persecute could hardly be made out, a bold stroke was at once resolved on by the fourth Alcalde, Alzázua, who had already distinguished himself as an inquisitor of heresy; and one evening, as soon as a few persons had assembled, he entered the house, and authoritatively required them to disperse. On the strength of this, he drew up a report to the Governor; and in pursuance, as was

presumed, of previous arrangement, "the heretical teacher" was verbally informed that it was the Governor's pleasure that he should leave Cadiz. Apprehensive, perhaps, of more active opposition, he yielded to the requisition. Had he maintained his post as a seaman's Missionary, and, in pursuance of his instructions, refused obedience to any *irregular* order from a Spanish authority alone, sacrificing, however, something to the necessity of the moment by suspending the meetings with the natives, he could not have been easily expelled. But he did not even mention, much less make any claim on the ground of, his ministrations to British subjects, as he was also instructed to do, nor in any way assert his right on this ground. Only, as he was not at liberty to leave without some documentary proof that he had been compelled to do so, he requested, and received from the Governor's Secretary, a written statement that he having broken the laws of the country by "preaching the maxims of the Methodist sect in a meeting of persons assembled to that end," His Excellency had thought fit to dispose that he should leave that province. This took place on the sixth day of April, when he came round to Gibraltar, thus closing our Mission almost entirely, and leaving the adverse party in undisputed possession of the ground.

During the month I felt it necessary to visit our little flock; to see how they did, give them counsel, join with them in prayer, and make some arrangement for our future correspondence. Mr. Alzázua, being in high spirits after his late success, found his way into the house while a few of them were seated there with me, and, maintaining that it was *a meeting*, ordered the person who accompanied him to take notes of their names, which was done with all formality. Fines were afterwards imposed on them. They paid the fines, demanded and received receipts for the

money; which documents lie before me, preserved as curiosities in their kind. They are similarly worded, and the following may serve as a specimen :—

"THE ALCALDE'S OFFICE FOR PUBLIC PROTECTION (!) AND SECURITY (!) OF THE QUARTER OF THE CONSTITUTION.(!)

"Doña Marcelina Gonzalez, mother of the minor, Antonio Mato, has delivered in this office twenty-two reals *vellon*, amount of two ducats fine, imposed by the fourth Alcalde, by authority of His Excellency, the civil Governor, for having found him in the house of the Methodist, Mr. G. H. Rule, on Sunday morning, the 26th ult., as he orders under date of the 11th and 13th inst. Cadiz, May 15th, 1840.

"FRANCISCO J. FASCIOLA."

Others were fined much higher; and our servant was compelled to enrich Mr. Alzázua's finance by a payment of ten dollars, for having allowed me to sleep in the house. The zealous Alcalde thought he could go a step further, and get me imprisoned; but not knowing that, the period allotted for my visit being expired, I had arranged to return to Gibraltar by steam, (which I did, after having preached to a congregation of fifty British seamen in the Bay,) he proceeded to pass the Sunday afternoon in performing another function of his magisterial office,—to wit, the superintendence of a bull-baiting. For my part, little thinking that such intentions were entertained on shore, I was in the Bay of Gibraltar before he set out in the morning to take me into custody. Seeing that he had lost the opportunity of imprisoning a British subject, under favour of Lord Palmerston's public abandonment of Englishmen, who, although they must be defended as common *smugglers* by British guns, should have no protection as Ministers of the Gospel, and of the Protestant

religion, in a "Catholic country," he presumed that our property might be as freely their prey as our persons, and had an inventory taken of the furniture belonging to the Mission. The British Consul, on my application to him, could not avoid seeking an explanation of the affair from the authorities, who endeavoured to evade the difficulty to which they were exposed; and this functionary assured me by letter, that *it was not their intention* to seize that property, but that he had just received an *order* that it should be removed, and the house shut up. This I did not choose to allow, but placed house and furniture under his official protection. A Consul, however instructed or disposed, could not refuse to protect property not legally forfeited; and I had subsequently the satisfaction both of sleeping there, and receiving my friends without fine, imprisonment, or confiscation.

It was agreed that the few who regarded the cause as peculiarly their own, and were desirous of saving their souls, should meet together from time to time, and statedly on the Lord's days, when one of the number should read prayers; that I should send them a pastoral letter every week, to serve instead of a sermon; and that they should lose no opportunity of united prayer, watching over each other in love. We believed that the storm would soon pass away, and participated in the general expectation of liberty of worship. But our trust was, that God, who had forwarded and owned our work as his at the beginning, would carry it on, until the truths of pure religion should be preached, and the forms of right worship established, and its beneficial effects experienced, throughout the land. Against our temporary disappointment was set the powerful counterpoise of most encouraging considerations.

It was remembered that, before attempting to establish a branch of the Mission at Cadiz, we knew that

our movements were watched with the closest vigilance. Our horses had no sooner passed through the land-gate of the city, than the circumstance was reported. The ci-devant authorities ecclesiastical had been put on their guard against us in various ways, not excepting an encyclical letter, direct, I believe, from Rome. We were pioneers, strangers, foreigners in the country, suspected even of being political agents, and generally noted as heretics of the vilest grade, abettors of anarchy, Jews, or worse than Jews, infidels, and even teachers of obscenity. At the first, no man was with us; yet for three years and a quarter we had been enabled to persist in the occupation of the post, in spite of incessant machinations to effect our overthrow. We had tested the state of popular feeling in one of the most important capitals, and found it to have changed in favour of liberty of conscience to such a degree that persecution had become unpopular, and it was only under the temporary preponderance of a retrograde Government that two or three subordinate Magistrates could be prevailed on to act against us. Not only was it visible that good had resulted from the preaching of the Gospel to some of the hearers, but many of the most respectable inhabitants had heard or read for themselves, and acquired more correct information, and, therefore, more favourable feeling, with regard to the Protestant faith; and a precedent in favour of our worship had been established. We hoped that not only our tenets and manner of worship had gained some acceptance, but that the Missionary and his flock had engaged some degree of confidence from those who had observed them closely enough to ascertain that Protestantism in earnest, not secularized nor torpid, is neither hateful nor demoralizing, as it had been represented, but rather beneficial and lovely. The harangues of Preachers, replete with bigotry and suggesting violence, discredited the cause which they were intended

to promote, and excited, far more extensively than our agencies could reach, a desire that some legislative measure should place one part of the community beyond reach of the malevolence of the other, and wipe away from Spain the ancient reproach of being superstitious, ignorant, and cruel. Without being embroiled in controversy, we had answered for ourselves, and publicly taught the truth in Spain; not only reviving the testimony which had been given three centuries before, but occupying a far more advantageous position than could be found in those times, without a temptation to the secrecy which gave rise to tergiversation and false pretences, and to which may most probably be attributed the utter ruin of an incipient Reformation at that time. And although we could not be encouraged by believing that there existed in England any general expectation of success, we did believe that prayers were offered up for Spain, and good wishes entertained, in which further efforts might originate, and knew that the Bible and Tract Societies were active in the prosecution of the common object, and that from such agencies great effects must follow in course of time. Besides, I then felt, and still feel, that as we have entered the lists with the powers of darkness, it would be not only shameful, but criminal, to lay aside the sword of the Spirit, to cast away the trumpet of jubilee, and cloak our cowardice under the easy plea, too long made by many whom we have known, that the time is not come. If the Lord will allow us the opportunity of labouring in Spain for another triennium, we may be content to be driven out again, leaving behind us precious fruits, to be gathered at the last great day. But this is anticipating an issue which at that distance of time would not be likely. And if we have any fear, it is that our friends at home will allow their benevolence to be restrained, or diverted into other channels, by the dis-

couragement of a few reverses. God grant that it be not so!

Nothing further occurred to our Mission in the course of the year of sufficient importance to be related. Nor does there appear to have been any movement in Spain of a purely religious or ecclesiastical character. There was, however, a great political change, tending to establish the Constitution of 1837 more firmly, and even to induce a better state of things than is provided for in that code. While the shepherd was smitten, and the sheep were scattered, in a dark and cloudy day, it pleased God to employ other instruments for the promotion of his great designs, as if to teach the parties most immediately concerned, that their poor services could be dispensed with; and, perhaps, tending to show eventually, that the frustration of their plans would be more conducive than their fulfilment to the realization of their hopes. The Government that had calculated on the co-operation of the Church for the attainment of its object, which was nothing less than to subvert the Constitution, and substitute an executive of absolute power, was suddenly overturned. A detail of the intensely interesting affairs of Spain at that time might be deemed by some readers a mere political digression; but some notice of them is necessary to preserve the continuity of our sketch.

Dishonest arts were used by the authorities subordinate to the Crown, in the capitals of the provinces and the towns in general, to lead up their party in the election of Deputies to the Lower House; while the aristocratic principles natural to the higher classes were also made available for the promotion of laws at variance with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution; and at the same time the priesthood, under the favour of *employés* suborned to serve those interests, were renewing, as far as practicable, the telling ceremonies of Popery, and openly boasting of their success. "Nota-

ble," said a priestly reporter, writing a few days after the suspension of our Mission, "Notable has been the Holy Week in Cadiz for the novelty of the processions, or brotherhoods, in the solemn acts of whose worship religion and decorum have vied with the refined taste which so highly characterizes this polite town. Immense were the difficulties which had to be overcome in order to obtain success in an enterprise against which well-known circumstances, together with long disuse, had necessarily to contend. But these obstacles having been happily overcome by dint of perseverance, the promoters of this undertaking have had the pleasure of seeing it carried through in the most satisfactory manner."*

But such hasty demonstrations were as fuel to the kindling fire; for Churchism and despotism are identified in the conception of the Spaniard. The dispute between the ultra and moderate Liberals, to borrow from the very erroneous nomenclature of that period, ran higher and higher, both in the Cortes and throughout the country; and the Queen-mother, made aware of the outbreak which was imminent, determined to be ready to quit the field, and, under pretext of the state of the young Queen's health, left Madrid for Barcelona on June 11th, and reached the latter city on the last day of that month. Her retiring from the capital seemed to be the signal for the retreat of the rebels from the north; for, like Ferdinand, she sympathized with them rather than with the nation, and had never been in earnest to put an end to the war, amidst the confusion and terror of which the dark schemes of tyranny could best be prosecuted. The Constitutional army, gathering fresh courage in the secession of their perfidious Regent, won successive fights, until, on July 5th, General Cabrera and his troops fairly evacuated the country,

* *El Tiempo de Cadiz, Abril* 20.

and entered France as refugees, leaving the nation free of rebels, and at the same time nearly quit of a despotic Government, which could only have existed in time of civil war.

The temporalities of the secular Clergy were marked as excessive in amount, and as too valuable to be left to their independent use; and in this view of the matter, and as introductory to further measures of reform, the Cortes decreed that they should continue in the possession and enjoyment of their property of all kinds, but without power to sell, mortgage, or otherwise encumber them, unless first authorized by the Government so to do. And now that the tithes were virtually abolished, the ordinary sources of revenue were limited and described. Then was agitated a great question: Might the Church accumulate an indefinite amount of property, and together with property great secular influence over society, and maintain the same with entire independence of national authority, even while the morals of the Clergy were utterly corrupt, their interests foreign, their politics at variance with all just and liberal principles of government, the practices of many of them treasonable, their chief a foreigner, necessarily devoted to the support of despotism, and inexorably opposed to every measure of national improvement? The Clergy, claiming all on a presumed divine right, contended in the affirmative. The people, amidst all the fluctuations of dominant parties, knew and felt to the contrary, and steadily maintained their position. The spirit of political reform pervaded all classes of the laity; and neither the lamentations, the arguments, nor the sinister predictions of humiliated Priests could avail against it.

Queen Christina had conciliated the confidence of the Liberals during the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand; but (from what cause, it is not necessary to inquire) she had latterly committed herself so evidently to an

illiberal policy, that she lost the confidence of the nation, and prudently prepared to leave it, to abdicate the regency, if she could not retain it on her own terms, and to betake herself to some retreat in which she might be unmolested in her licentious habits. On the first day of September, the population of Madrid rose in one of those *pronunciamientos* which have so frequently occurred both in old and new Spain; but the movement was not stained by any sanguinary outrage, nor did the military make any decided stand against it, but a momentary show of resistance, in which, if I remember well, the only "casualties" were, one soldier wounded, and one horse killed. They joined the people, and next day a Provisional Board of Government was established by the existing municipal authorities of the province. An admirably written address, presented by this Board to Christina, will provide us, once for all, with an explicit statement of the causes of popular discontent, and may assist the reader to understand what was the state of Spain when the Cadiz Mission was suspended, while comparison with its present state may encourage the supporters of any renewed effort in its behalf. Here follows the address:—

"LADY,—When the Spanish nation swore to the Constitution of 1837, which was formed by the Constituent Cortes, and accepted freely and spontaneously* by your Majesty, it was with the decided will to reverence, fulfil, and defend against all enemies, not a vain show, but the guarantee of its rights, and the foundation of its future glory and prosperity. As much the enemy of despotism as of licentiousness, the immense

* She was *compelled* to revive the Constitution of 1812, but professed great satisfaction afterwards, and set herself at the head of the Liberals forthwith; so that this expression is sufficiently correct.

majority of the Spanish people always fulfilled with respect the constitutional orders of the Crown; and certainly it has not been sparing to seal with torrents of blood its loyalty and adherence to the throne of Isabel II., founded, as it is, on national sovereignty, and to the august person of your Majesty.

"But among a free people obedience has its limits marked out by the laws; and nothing so much exposes the dignity of the Crown, nothing so soon deprives it of its power, its influence, and even hazards its existence, as the unlawful pretension of making itself superior to the law, which is the only and the true expression of the general will. The perfidious councillors of your Majesty, forgetting these principles, the strict observance of which assures and strengthens power, have not scrupled to interpret the clamours of public opinion as treasonable, and, abusing our patience and forbearance, to incline the mind of your Majesty to a system of re-action, no longer possible to be realized in Spain, without disorganizing the State, and plunging the nation into an abyss of horrors.

"Do not the projects of law respecting liberty of the press, right of electors and administration, all ramifications of a subversive plan, disclose the sinister ends of that faction, which, calling itself Conservative, conceals its malignity under the mask of a mendacious moderation? Without conscience,* without political faith, some are only moved by the desire of enriching themselves at the expense of the blood of this ill-fortuned Spain, by means of dark negotiations, undermining the public credit by the scandalous extraction of their rich deposits; others by anxiety to preserve the abusive privileges which they might have acquired in the infancy and orphanhood of the monarchy; and

* The Christian reader must lament that this crimination discloses but too faithfully the moral condition of men of all parties in Spain, equally destitute of true religion.

many by the insatiable thirst of power and command.

"Without any settled principle, without a mind of their own, governed by foreign influences, just when the nation is recovering from civil war, and advancing towards future greatness, they have proposed to dissolve the brave army which has devoted so many days of glory to the country, with a view of co-operating to the dismemberment of the monarchy, long ago contrived, in order to hurl it from the lofty station which it occupied in better days, and which still rightfully belongs to it in the political balance of Europe.

"Not content with having demoralized the country by employing every kind of means—violence, subornation, terror, for the sake of assembling in the Cortes a spurious majority, they ventured to present this fatal project of *Ayuntamientos*;* the spirit and letter of which tend to sweep away at its foundation the fundamental law to which we all have sworn, after the example of your Majesty.

"The *Ayuntamientos*, Lady, are not composed merely of private persons; for the duties of *Alcaldes*, *Regidores*, and syndic *Procuradores*, constitute their organization. The people, by the fundamental law, have the incontestable right of naming their municipal officers; assigning to them the respective functions which they conceive to be most adapted to the cast of their mind, their ability, and social position. Hence the new law, by giving to the Crown the prerogative of naming the Alcaldes, besides being prejudicial to the interests of the population, and not less opposed to their rights and customs, is clearly contrary to the Constitution, and dangerous to liberty.

"The Cortes could not accept such an odious project without incurring the guilt of perjury; and from

* Municipal bodies.

the moment in which they did so, they deprived themselves of their character and inviolability. It is well known, Lady, that in every country where a representative system is in force, when the Congresses, without special power from the people, infringe the Constitution of the state, by virtue of which they are invested with the legislative power, one of two things happens: either the Constitution dies, and from that moment no other law governs than the caprice of a tyrannical assembly, composed of as many decemvirs as individuals; or the Congress dies, and ceasing to have any character as such, its measures should not be sanctioned by the Crown, nor even, if sanctioned, do they oblige to obedience and execution.

"The former alternative could not happen; thanks to the respect and love of all good Spaniards to the constitutional Throne. It has therefore been necessary, that the people, by means of a patriotic expression, should evidence their firm determination to maintain entire, and uninjured, the Constitution and the laws.

"This capital has done so. When the wishes of the people found not a hearing; when the addresses of the chief municipal corporations of the Peninsula were thrown aside; when the clamours of opinion were suppressed; and, in short, when every door of hope was closed; the people, and the national militia, have taken up arms, and, loyally seconded by the brave garrison, have unanimously sworn never to lay them down until your Majesty, yielding to the desire of the immense majority of Spaniards, shall deign to suspend the promulgation of that ominous project of municipal law, dissolve the present Cortes, that in no sense whatever represent the nation; name a ministry consisting of men of decided character, whose former conduct, being without blame, may inspire confidence, and tranquillize agitated minds, and that those Minis-

ters be impeached who have so perfidiously abused their power.

"The board created by the provincial Deputation and the Ayuntamiento, with the character of provisional Government of the province of Madrid, expressing the sentiments of this province, does not intend, Lady, as the traitors who surround your Majesty set abroad, to destroy order and enthrone anarchy; its only object is to strengthen more assuredly the throne, the Constitution of 1837, and the national independence, which have been bought at the expense of so much life-blood, and so many costly sacrifices. The individuals who compose this board, little used to flattery, pray your Majesty, that you would deign to allow them this language, severe indeed, but that of loyalty; because it is not permitted to lie to Kings at any time, and much less in circumstances so grave and perilous. May God preserve for many years the valuable life of your Majesty. Madrid, September 4th, 1840." Signed, &c.

In this document no mention is made of tithes; but a project of law for their continuance was also enumerated among the many causes of popular discontent.

Zaragoza and Toledo followed the example of Madrid, and subsequently the army and the whole country, with a spontaneity which evidenced, beyond all doubt, that not a party, but the mass of the people, of all ranks and classes, Priests excepted, had adopted the *quasi* British Constitution as their own. Christina was for a time inflexible, or made to appear so, and the board of Madrid, resolved not to yield their point which was so indubitably national, forbade communication with the Government of Valencia. Her Majesty endeavoured to form another cabinet, but without success; and at last so far gave way, as to commission

General Espartero to form a ministry. He did so; and, in compliance with their counsel, she dissolved the Cortes on the 11th of October, and on the 12th abdicated the Regency of the kingdom, sinking at that moment into the station of a private person. Four days afterwards, she embarked for France in the "Méditerranée," a miserable French merchant steamer, occupying the very cabin in which, in compliance with her pleasure, while yet a Queen, my family and I had passed from Cadiz to Gibraltar. The coincidence may be trifling, yet, to us, it was remarkable.

The course of reformation being once again accelerated, the public attention was concentrated in this grand cause, which received a momentum sufficient, perhaps, to place it far in advance of all the obstacles by which it had been hitherto impeded; and although every project could not be realized at once, projects were formed and officially proclaimed, of which some were realized, and others appear on the point of being so. The necessity of alienating the property of the secular Clergy was then avowed; and in the case of a Clergy both dependent on a foreign Prince, and *tributary* to him, there can be no question but that this was a necessary and just measure. It was deemed right that tithes and first-fruits should be legally abolished, as inconsistent with representative Government, at the same time that the duty to maintain the Ministers of religion was acknowledged; and if it be thought that these should not have been degraded to the position of hirelings of the public, and placed on a level with the meanest servant in any of the civil departments of public service, I think it may be confidently responded, that the indolence, ignorance, and immorality of the Clergy were such that they would be rather honoured, than degraded, by the association; and their claim on any country could not be tenable on any other ground than that of mere prescription;

a Popish priesthood being injurious to religion, morality, and temporal prosperity, wherever it is found. If it be said, that the spirit which led to that spoliation, as it is called, of the Spanish Church, was infidel, and therefore bad, the truth of this proposition may be freely conceded; but it was only a developement and application of the infidelity which is indigenous to Popery in every age and country; and the ecclesiastical estate is far from being exempt from the guilt of infidelity. The dispute between Papist and infidel is not ours; but we may stand aloof from the affray, and admire the supreme and retributive providence of God, who, not in Spain only, has allowed to the natural offspring of the Babylonian harlot the work of her gradual destruction; which brings to mind an almost prophetic comparison of the great poet, descriptive of a kindred personage, who

> "seemed woman to the waist and fair;
> But ended foul in many a scaly fold,
> Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm'd
> With mortal sting. About her middle round
> A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd
> With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and rung
> A hideous peal: yet when they list would creep,
> If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
> And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd
> Within, unseen."

The proposal of *maintaining* the Priests, while it was in literal agreement with the fundamental law, was avowedly dictated by a wish "to sanctify the political dogma" with the charm of professed Catholicism; but it was to hold in abeyance the charge of irreligion which would be denounced against the Liberals; a strategy often employed by the leaders of parties in seasons of difficulty. But here, too, we find the germ of yet ulterior measures, which the Spanish legislature will soon have to take for the security of civil liberty

itself. Hence an avowal, solemnly made by the provisional board of Government, just mentioned, that "equality, *toleration*, and disinterestedness," were best calculated to insure the preservation of the Church. And from this time we have the happiness of tracing similar expressions as current in Spain, but enounced with a growing freedom from ambiguity, which indicates an improving state of public sentiment on this all-important subject. At the close of this year was interrupted (might it be for ever!) all visible relation with the Pope in Spain.

The Ecclesiastics could not repress their discontent and indignation; and by manifesting their disaffection to the Regency, (after the abdication of Christina,) the Government, and the liberal majority of the nation, placed themselves in a posture of hostility, as if to try their strength in one desperate struggle for existence. That was not a time to trifle. Had they been encouraged by impunity, their efforts to subvert the Constitution would have been renewed from day to day, and their Church, in plenitude of power and pride, would have again triumphed over the state. The provincial board of Cáceres sent away the Bishop of that diocess to another part of the kingdom, where he was required to abide. The boards of Granada, Coruña, Malaga, Ciudad Real, and others, deposed not a few dignitaries and inferior Priests, and put them into safe keeping. Nor were measures less decisive at Madrid. When the Cardinal Tiberi withdrew in 1834, the business of the Nunciature, conducted by sufferance, was intrusted by that Ecclesiastic to a person who was never formally established by the Queen's *pase regio;* and the Rota, or court of appeals to the Pope, through his agent, who presided over it, existed on the same imperfect footing. Matters remained in that state until the changes now related; when the nominal vice-gerent of the Nuncio, Don José Ramirez de Arellano, losing sight

of the precariousness of his position, and forgetting that he had no authority to exercise the functions of such an office, presumed to put in a remonstrance against the vigorous proceedings of the provinces, an improved partition of Madrid into parishes by order of the Government, and the appointment of an obnoxious person (Don Valentin Ortigosa) as acting Bishop of Malaga. His repeated remonstrances were handed over to the supreme Tribunal of Justice, and by them reported on as illegal and subversive. The correspondence was lengthy; but the question might be reduced within very narrow limits. Two or three sentences extracted from either side will exhibit their doctrine respectively.

ARELLANO, speaking of the establishment of the Rota, says: "The judges of whom it must consist are not nominated by the King. His Holiness has reserved to himself to nominate persons approved by the King of Spain, as also the places of Assessor, &c., his choice falling on persons who may be agreeable to the Sovereign. As they are appointed by His Holiness, and on account of the rank they occupy in the hierarchical order of the Church, they are immovable, they cannot be superseded by the civil power; and their places only become vacant by death, preferment, resignation, or a canonical deposition, which cannot be legally effected without judicial process, and by such a sentence as may be *worthy* of execution."* Again: "It is obvious enough to your Excellency, that the territory of the Church has been invaded, and that the order which God introduced for her government has been confounded; for to set up her Ministers, to deprive or to suspend them when there is cause, is a power which belongs exclusively to herself. To subordinate the power of her Pastors, Judges, and other

* Fair specimen of what the Roman style would be, if there were a Nunciature in Great Britain.

Ministers, as regards its exercise and its functions, to the temporal power, is the same as not to recognise it."* And again: "Jesus Christ, when he instituted

* Most true. Nothing can be more consonant with the spirit of the Gospel, nor any principle more essential to the purity of a true Christian church. But if a community, which is both anti-christian and secular, having no other *patria* than Rome, a principality foreign to all the world beside, claim this independence in all countries, it is the same as if one of the reigning Sovereigns were to claim for himself, and successors, to have one universal garrison throughout the world, consisting of a multitude of detachments under command of his own officers. A political combination, calling itself a church, may not appropriate to itself the privileges of a church, nor be heard when personating a church, and employing the language of a purely spiritual community. But it may be said, I do not say *admitted*, that the legislature should not assume to be judge of the controversy between Popery and Protestantism; or, in a Popish country, to treat subjects of discipline theologically. In this view, "liberal" writers in those countries make a distinction between *external* and *internal* discipline. The former is referred to the temporalities, and its administration claimed by the state; the latter, to the spiritualities, and its management conceded to the Clergy. The system has been tried among us, but has never been approved by universal consent; and, in truth, it seems rather odd to place the body and the soul of a public institution under two separate jurisdictions. But *sub judice lis est.* So it may remain then for the present. It only imports to remark, that whatever may be attempted in Spain, or elsewhere, Rome does not admit the distinction; nor would such a distinction be recognised hereafter, even if an individual Pope, or a conclave, were to be forced into it on an occasion. Hence the greater excommunication is prepared in the Pontifical against any who shall have dared, *diabolo suadente.....Ecclesiam Dei devastare, ecclesiastica bona diripere, ac pauperes Christi violenter opprimere.* And the Council of Trent already declares all alienation of church property, even if made by consent of the Bishops themselves, to be null and void; and even through ages of alienation the Church, in her laws, is demanding restitution. The same doctrine is maintained as to

his church, granted to his Apostles, *and their successors*, a power independent of *every other;* which doctrine has been unanimously recognised by all the Fathers,(!) with Osius and St. Athanasius, when they put the Emperors on their guard (!) against meddling with ecclesiastical matters."

"The Supreme Tribunal" did not condescend to use elaborate argumentation. They replied, however, that "Jesus Christ did not mark out territories within which the Apostles should exercise their functions. He gave them a spiritual power over all nations; but it was purely mental or internal. He did not confer on the Apostles any external power over the territories into which they should go forth to preach." In short, the Spanish Government rejected the notions of the Fathers, and repudiated whatever ecclesiastical doctrine could not be sustained by the plain words of "Christ and his Apostles." And in application of the principle so wisely adopted, they shut up the Nunciature, abolished the Rota, and banished Don José Ramirez de Arellano out of Spain, leaving him in possession of his personal property, but resuming to the nation the revenues of the offices which he had held. The last day of the year was also the last of his residence in Madrid. On New-year's morning he was conducted towards the French frontier.

We now leave the affairs of Spain in their course, and return to Gibraltar, where the same grave controversy as to secular or ecclesiastical power with regard to temporals was kept up, on a smaller scale, yet with a scarcely less valuable issue, as it respects our own empire. The dispute was protracted, and excited much interest in persons of all parties.

An Irish Franciscan Friar, *in sacris*, transformed into

the personal and corporate immunities of the priesthood. Spain, therefore, by practically condemning this essential principle of Popery, has done an incalculable service to the Christian world.

a Bishop, made his appearance at last, with the title of Bishop of Heliopolis, and quality of Pope's Vicar. The appointment had not been generally desired by the native population, some of whom even sent a remonstrance to the Holy Father, praying that they might not be burdened with so costly a dignitary; but as the object of counteracting the growing influence of Protestantism was dear to Rome, no remonstrance of the kind could be expected to avert the visitation. He came fresh in the ardour of his national character, rigid in the notions which he had imbibed during a long residence in Spain, and zealous in making the most of the dignity with which he had been invested at Rome. There, even in formal compliance with a rule too agreeable to be dispensed with,* he must have done homage and sworn fidelity to the metempsychosis of Peter, visited "the most eminent and most reverend Cardinals of the holy Roman Court," and rendered them his thanks, commending and offering up to them himself and his churches. And, without doubt, it may be affirmed that he received a special mission to do, or try to do, what his humbler brethren had hitherto been unable to effect in Gibraltar,—to subdue heresy, and to purify and exalt that portion of the Catholic Church.

He had not been long there before an ill feeling broke out between himself and his people; and an incident soon occurred to elicit pretty strong expressions of mutual animosity. Free-masonry had made much progress among all classes of the inhabitants; and while clerical influence had been over-abundantly given to the craft on the Protestant side, the Bishop (more consistently, indeed, but why or wherefore is another question) discountenanced the same. The corpse of a deceased "brother" was taken to the

* *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, lib. i., cap. i.

church in order to the performance of the usual service, when, although he had been confessed and anointed, and therefore should in justice have been buried, and although the Ecclesiastic ought to have allowed that a person absolved *in articulo mortis* must have been thus delivered from the sins of Free-masonry, as well as from all others, he, too hastily for his own credit, made a practical confession of his own, that the confession of the departed, the absolution, the viaticum, the unction, were altogether of no virtue; for he first caused the masonic symbols to be removed from the coffin, and then refused to allow any Priest to lead forward the funeral procession. The mob gathered tumultuously, and the church (not for the first time by many, nor the last) became the scene of riot, while people of all classes demanded the burial of the corpse. To their clamours the Bishop, using his authority as a public functionary, would fain have opposed the force of a number of Irish soldiers, who were opportunely present, having side-arms, as is usual there; but this was mercifully prevented; and, after much uproar and some delay, the body was interred, *more Anglicano*, in one of the Protestant sections of the common burial-ground, by "the Grand Master of the Lodges." Matters did not stay their progress.

A dozen or twenty laymen, according to long-established custom, had managed the temporalities, and exerted some sort of control over the Priests; in support of which usage they exhibited a decree of "the Sacred Congregation *de propagandâ Fide*." These Elders, as they are styled, assumed on this occasion and on others an authority which gave umbrage to him of Heliopolis, as well it might; for if the Sacred Congregation gave, as appears undeniable, such an authority to laymen, it must have been an oversight; and he therefore maintained his high ground, and, as dependent only on the Pope, and acting in perfect consistence with the spirit

and letter of the laws of his denomination, he claimed full power to handle the money, as well as to direct the ceremonies of the congregation. But the people had been living in British territory too long to kiss the rod, and, other means failing, the very persons who had written the obsequious letter copied in the last chapter, brought him into public Court, where they demanded that he should give account of the fees he had received during the last six months, and pay over the amount. Judgment was given in their favour; and it was decreed that the Board of Elders was legally constituted, and that he should pay his debt to them with costs, and render a monthly account of the fees, &c., received. He did nothing of the kind, and was therefore sent to prison for default, where he abode for some months, receiving visitors with the air of a Confessor, and enjoying to perfection the *otium cum dignitate*,* in proud anticipation of a purple hat. At last he was let out on bail.

There must have been much sympathizing correspondence between this honorary Bishop, and his superiors in the capital of Popedom; and we may judge of its tenor by the following extract of a letter sent from the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda to the Roman Consul in Gibraltar. It was dated March 2d, 1841, written in Italian by the Cardinal G. F. Fransoni, and counter-signed by the Secretary, the Archbishop of *Edessa!*

"I am not so much grieved," says the writer, "at the vaunted triumph, which, by resisting the Holy See, and openly setting its commands at nought, the seditious Catholic Junta has gained, as at the heinous wickedness of which the members who compose it become daily more and more guilty in the sight of God

* There was a wicked pun,—*cum ebrietate.* But that must have referred to some inferior Cleric, not, surely, to a Franciscan and a Bishop.

by their pertinacious disobedience. The immutable maxims of the Catholic Church cannot be in the least altered by the Judges of a lay-tribunal, and one that is not Catholic, to which true Catholics should have been ashamed to have recourse for the sake of making war upon their holy Pastor. Such Judges are no other than a curse and infamy to those who have dared to call on them for judgment. Most sorry am I for the censures which will be launched against all those who have taken any part in the matter; and if it be true that two Ecclesiastics actively co-operated with their proceedings, (one of whom must of course have been Mr. Zino,) they will only have to attribute to themselves the necessity under which this Sacred Congregation will be laid to cause them to be interdicted from any exercise of their sacred ministry.

"I have nothing more to add, except to enjoin on you that you afford every support and assistance to the worthy Monsignore Bishop, Apostolic Vicar, encouraging him to oppose, always, indeed, a patient, but an unconquered, firmness to so great excesses of an impious prepotency, and to maintain with vigour a cause which is no longer his own, but that of the Catholic Church."

Let the reader mark that sentence in which British subjects are threatened for having appealed to a British tribunal, and that tribunal denounced as infamous and accursed. Can any language be more seditious than the following, addressed to a Consular Agent in a British colony?—"*Somiglianti giudici non sono sino di maledizione ed infamia por quelli che ardirono di provocarli.*" * Of course this is the accustomed style of the Court of Rome; and yet we hear that a semi-diplomatic, but clandestine, correspondence is carried on by

* From the use of the verb *provocare*, I should judge that *giudici* in this sentence must have been *giudicij* in the original letter, but that it has the adjective *somiglianti* connecting it with the antecedent *giudici* in the preceding sentence.

means of an Englishman resident in Rome for that purpose. This may be incorrect, although currently reputed to be true; but the country should know whether it be so, and if so, whether such a correspondence be lawful.

It would have been beside our purpose to notice the quarrel with the Bishop of Heliopolis, had not the anti-Popish feeling of the more numerous and respectable portion of the population of Gibraltar been clearly elicited therein, a legal decision given in which custom was recognised as valid to the utter overthrow of every ecclesiastical principle of Rome in that town, and another occasion afforded to the Papal Court to display, in regard to British judicature, the spirit by which it has ever been characterized, and ever will be, while the forbearance of God, and the blindness of man, allow it to exist.

CHAPTER XI.

1841. Correspondence with Cadiz—Printing in Gibraltar—Enlargement of the Mission in that Town—Persecution of a Schoolmaster in Aljeciras—Quarrel between Spain and Rome—The Pope's Allocution—Replies thereto—Ineffectual Struggle of a Portion of the Priesthood—Seditious Placards, &c.—Confiscation of the remaining Church Property—The Clergy pensioned.

THE Mission to Spain was still reduced within a very narrow compass. Weekly correspondence with Cadiz was continued, and the little party of Protestants met together on Sundays; but only two short visits could be paid to that city. The press, however, was kept at work, and some addition made to the quantity of printed material for the evangelization of the country. And the work of distribution still went forward, although not on so large a scale as could have been desired.

The Mission at Gibraltar acquired new strength by the erection of a commodious building at the south, containing a spacious school-room on the ground-floor, fifty feet by twenty-five, and an oratory above, of the same dimensions. In the Spanish congregation a few communicants were added, of whom there was every reason to believe that they were in earnest for the salvation of their souls. This was the best of all, inasmuch as each true convert brings his share of spiritual influence, is another pleader before the throne of grace, and effectively contributes to the permanence of the little church, which may be the means ere long of spreading vital religion over the adjacent province. But, on the other hand, the Missionary Society at home was pressed by

urgent claims, beyond its ability to satisfy, from Stations where such opposition as that experienced for a time in Spain has not to be encountered; so that no further efforts, beyond those of the single Missionary at Gibraltar, were made. It is hoped that this unsatisfactory state of things will not continue much longer; and in view to the introduction of a brighter period, the reader is earnestly referred to the suggestions with which this volume closes.

One of our Schoolmasters spent some time in the neighbouring town of Aljeciras, where he acquired a knowledge of the language, and, by intercourse with the people, removed some prejudice, and imparted some religious information. While witnessing the utter irreligion of the inhabitants, he was stirred up to pray; and we may hope that his petitions, recorded in heaven, will not be unanswered. But nothing was hazarded there; and the little extra outlay thus incurred, was more than recovered by him as teacher of the English language, in which capacity alone he acted, a precaution taken in anticipation of the event which soon followed. The parish Priest there insisted that, as he was under my influence, the royal order of 1839, already cited, should be put in force. His Spanish friends resisted this as long as they could; but at last, although there was no sufficient ground on which to justify such a proceeding, he was arrested in the street at mid-day, cast into prison, in spite of the remonstrances of the Baron de Carondelet, the general officer commanding that district, and after a night's incarceration, was marched out at the lines opposite Gibraltar at the point of the bayonet. But it is most gratifying to be able to make honourable mention of the Baron, the Commandant Rivas, and other of the chief inhabitants, who unequivocally expressed their approbation of his conduct, and interfered on his behalf, as did the British Vice-Consul, although some-

what tardily, disheartened, perhaps, by Lord Palmerston's instructions.

Spain became the theatre of an open conflict between church and state, which will probably give a new character to the ecclesiastical history of the country; and as it is not the chief intention of the writer to put forth an account of his own proceedings, or of those of his own church, he will not apologize for occupying a few more pages by mere translation, as the documents so published possess the highest historical authority; and we have now to study the history of the Spanish, as distinct from the Roman, Church, and almost Protestant in respect of discipline. And if this transition is being made under the direction of Divine Providence, it may lead to a doctrinal and moral reformation. We will hear the parties litigant state the case for themselves.

On the second day of March, Pope Gregory XVI. pronounced the following allocution in a consistory of Cardinals at Rome. The copy before me is in the Spanish language. I have not a copy of the original, but presume that the version is correct:—

"VENERABLE BRETHREN,—It is now more than five years that we have been deploring, in your assembly, the unhappy events relating to religion in Spain, and the acts, and numerous decrees, which in that country attack the rights of the Church. We addressed to you an allocution, which should be published, in order to induce the Government of Madrid to other and sound ideas, or, at least, that our Apostolic disapprobation of all that had taken place might appear in a solemn and definite form. Since that time we have abstained from other public and more severe complaints; not that they have ceased in Spain to afflict the Church with new injuries, but the continued supplications of our venerable brethren, the Prelates of that kingdom,

who trusted that the persecution would cease, and that they would be able to bring about a favourable issue, induced us to continue to defend the cause of the Church by gentle means; still hoping that the course of time, and our longanimity, would open an easier way for healing the country of the wounds of Israel, reinstating sacred affairs, if not in their primitive splendour, at least in a competent and convenient position.

"But, venerable brethren, the contrary of all that we had hoped has fallen out; and the Government of Madrid, having subjected to its dominion the provinces which hitherto had not obeyed it, has, in its more comfortable state, become, as it seems, more resolved than ever to outrage the sacred rights of its churches and of the Holy See. One proof, among others, exists in the order communicated to lay Magistrates to see to the execution of the decree by which, in the year 1835, Bishops were forbidden to confer sacred orders, except in very rare circumstances.* The same may be said of another decree,† by which the former laws which had put into the possession of the (temporal) power the monasteries of both sexes, with their respective patrimonies, should be extended to those which had been saved from that desolating plague in the new provinces, which have now had to submit.

"The sacred edifices are not respected, for another decree shows that the temples attached to monasteries will shortly be sold at public auction, excepting only those in which the divine offices are celebrated; which will except very few, for the sacred edifices have undergone the same fate as the monasteries, having been despoiled of all their endowment. To these decrees has lately been added a project of law,‡ to be submitted to the Cortes, in order that the secular Clergy,

* Decree of December 10th, 1840.

† Of December 6th and 13th, 1840.

‡ Of January 21st, 1841, which has since passed into law.

already deprived of a great part of their revenue, be despoiled at once of the property which was left to them; and that being reduced, as well as the religious persons, to a sort of mercenary condition, they may live on the precarious sustenance which the (temporal) power promises to assign to both classes." (That is, to Monks and Priests.)

"Further: the views of the Government have been disclosed with respect to the regard which it pays to the Clergy, on the appearance of the edict permitting those who had been banished during the civil war to return to their country. By this edict all Ecclesiastics have been formally excepted. The fact is palpable; for some, well known for their virtues and sound doctrine, have been driven from the frontier of Spain, and that not because they had taken any part in the civil quarrel with one party or the other, but because they have valiantly defended the cause of the Church against the pretensions of the Government.

"It is with grief that we say, that there has not been wanting in Spain a small number of Clergymen who have contrived to conciliate the favour of Government, and, forgetting their character and their duty, have not hesitated to enter into a conspiracy, together with the (temporal) power, to oppress the Church. Others, under the authority of the said Government, administer in the diocesses of which the Bishops have deceased, or have had to expatriate themselves. In this number appears a Clergyman* of the metropolitan chapter of Seville, who was nominated, some time ago, for the episcopal government of Malaga, being elected capitular Vicar. This Clergyman, then strongly suspected of heresy, on account of certain perverse doctrines put forth in his discourses and writings, was denounced by the same chapter to the tribunal of the

* Don Valentin Ortigosa.

Archbishopric of Seville, and by sentence of this tribunal, and with approbation of the Government, was confined to that city. But just afterwards, having appealed to lay Judges, he managed to find such favour, not only with them, but before the supreme chiefs of the state, that under pretext of violence, and incompetence of jurisdiction, he was permitted to return to the church of Malaga.

"This enormous violation of sacred right in a doctrinal matter, gave rise, on the 20th of November last, to a remonstrance from our dear son, José Ramirez de Arellano, Vice-gerent of our Nunciature in Spain for spiritual affairs; who had also remonstrated on the 5th and 17th of the same month in favour of some Judges of the Nunciature, (or ecclesiastical court of appeals,) whom the lay Magistrate of Madrid had suspended from their functions. He also protested against the vexations which our venerable brother, the Bishop of Cáceres, was suffering, together with other Ecclesiastics, dispersed and separated from their offices, while the violence of the secular Magistrates rose to the extreme of putting others in their stead. In the same manner he remonstrated against the arrangement and appointment of parishes in Madrid, which the laymen in power thought fit to usurp. All these proceedings, my brethren, and, above all, that of the Clergyman of Seville, drew down animadversion and severities on the Vice-gerent of our Nunciature. You already know of the business which that Government itself has been in haste to publish. It will suffice to resume it in few words.

"As soon as the chiefs of Government received his last remonstrance, they took the opinion of the supreme tribunal on the affair, and refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Vice-gerent, intimated to him, that he should abstain, for the future, from similar communications.

"A little afterwards, towards the end of December, the Government, in agreement with the lay-tribunal, decreed that our dear son, José Ramirez, should renounce his charge as Vice-gerent of the Nunciature, and that the Apostolic tribunal of the Rota should also renounce its functions, and that the supreme tribunal should as soon as possible give its opinion as to the course that should be taken with the ecclesiastical business then pending, or that might occur thereafter, in which the Rota had exercised jurisdiction, in order to obtain the benefits granted by the Nunciature, without need of applying at Rome. And, in short, that Ramirez Arellano, as guilty of having offended the dignity of Government by unjust, irreverent, and unauthorized remonstrances, should suffer the penalty of confiscation of all his income, whether proceeding from the Treasury or from the Church, and that he should be immediately banished from the Spanish territory. All this was consummated, and carried into effect by an armed force; and on the kalends of January, the Government itself published its determinations, as we have said before, thus causing sorrow in the hearts of all good Catholics.

"We think it useless to refute here all that they allege falsely in prejudice of the rights of the Church in the kingdom of Spain, in the consultation of the Government with the supreme council.

"You now see, venerable brethren, what will be the future fate of the Church in the kingdom of Spain, if even in the communications made to Government, mention must not be made of the attacks which the secular power perpetrates against the Church. But, alas for us! if in this wreck of sacred things, in this oppression of the liberties of the Church, we were not to rear a bulwark before the house of Israel, and if we should any longer keep our lamentations within the limits of secret remonstrances. On the contrary, the

ardour of that paternal charity which we profess towards the Catholic nation of Spain, which, up to these unhappy days, has deserved well of the Church, and of the Holy See, impels us to guard against the peril which is brought upon religion by the confusion of ecclesiastical affairs.

"Venerable brethren: Raising our Apostolic voice in this assembly, and calling heaven and earth to witness, we remonstrate earnestly, and with all our powers, against whatever has been done in Spain up to this time, to the detriment of the rights of the Church. We mark particularly whatever power and jurisdiction is usurped by laymen over things pertaining to the faith and doctrine, that by the order of Jesus Christ, Lord of lords, and King of kings, and in spite of the vain opposition of the powers of this world, was made known in Spain from the time of the Apostles, and which the holy Pastors of that country were enabled to diffuse abroad yet further, under the protection of our Apostolic chair; the doctrine which they knew how to defend, in spite of the great vicissitudes of public affairs, and preserve intact up to our days. We show you the dignity of our supreme Apostolate violated in the person of the Vice-gerent of our Nunciature, and in the tribunal of the Rota, established in Spain by the *indulgence* of the Holy See, to take cognizance in ecclesiastical causes in which appeal might be made to us; which right of receiving appeal, by virtue of his primacy, the Roman Pontiff exercised in Spain during the first ages,* and which he was used, in particular cases, to delegate to the Legates whom he named for that kingdom.†

* Pope St. Stephen *admitted* the appeal of Basilides of Asturias, and of Martial of Merida, of whom St. Cyprian speaks, cap. viii.

† This was done in the case of a Clergyman, and two Bishops, who are mentioned in cap. xliii., lib. xiii., of Gregory the Great to John the Defender.

"We show you, venerable brethren, many Bishops torn away from the sheep which the Holy Spirit commended to them, that they might care for them, and for the church of God; their Vicars, whom they have more than once prevented from the exercise of the ministry which had been confided to them, having to obey the Bishop whom the Government had nominated, in contravention of the second Council of Lyon,* confirmed by the constitutions, and, more recently, by the so well-known letters of our predecessor, Pius VII.† We show you the religious persons ejected from their monasteries, where they had sheltered themselves in order to follow the counsels of evangelical perfection, and the secular Clergy, equally afflicted by the torments which they suffer for things pertaining to their holy mission. We show you the patrimony of the Church almost entirely usurped, as if the spouse, without reproach, of Jesus Christ, had not, in her primordial right, the faculty of acquiring and possessing temporal goods, and as if it were necessary to condemn, as usurpers of another's right, our predecessors who possessed goods of that kind, even during the times of Pagan Princes, and who, where churches had been erected, obtained restitutions from Emperors and Princes, as an act prescribed by the law of justice.

"We show you the decrees, and other acts, by which, with culpable audacity, the immunity of the Church has been invaded, as also that of ecclesiastical persons, appointed by the order of God, and by canonical decisions, depriving them of that most holy

* Cap. v. *De Electione.*

† Of November 5th, 1810, to Cardinal Maury; of December 2d, 1810, to Averardo Corboli, Capitular Vicar of the Church of Horcucia; and of December 18th, 1810, to Paul Astros, Capitular Vicar of the Church of Paris.

power from which the conduct of religious affairs emanates, and which the Church received in all its plenitude from her divine Founder, in order to exercise her right freely, amidst the contradictions excited by temporal Princes.

"We show you the temples of the God of hosts, the images of the saints, the furniture, the ornaments, and even the most sacred instruments of the ineffable sacrifice, employed for profane uses. We show you, finally, the criminal books distributed throughout all the Catholic kingdom, of which the Magistrates are not ignorant, as neither have they prohibited the Preachers of heretical depravity from corrupting the faith of the incautious, thus increasing the licentiousness of the impious. Thus, more than once, have the functions of divine worship been seen outraged and defiled by ridicule, by tumult, by blasphemies, and by the assassination of the Priests.

"In consequence, and by the tender affection and paternal solicitude which we profess to all the churches by the will of God and his particular charge, as by our apostolical authority, we reprobate every one of those acts which, in like circumstance, it belongs to the Church, by right, to exercise, but which have been consummated by the Government of Madrid, and the inferior Magistrates. By the same apostolic authority, we break and annul the decrees, and whatever in pursuance of them has been done, declaring it to be without effect for the past, and for the future.

"As for the authors of these acts, who glory in being called children of the Catholic Church, we invite and supplicate them in the Lord to open their eyes on the wounds which they have inflicted on their mother and benefactress; (!) that they remember, above all things, the censures and spiritual penalties which the apostolical constitutions, and the decrees of

the œcumenic Councils denounce, *ipso facto*, against the invaders of the rights of the Church; that each one of them may have pity on his own soul, oppressed with invisible bonds;* that they consider that judgment is severe against those who bear command;† and that they seriously bear in mind, that there is a strong presumption against them in the judgment itself, if any one of them should come to die far from the communion and forms of prayer (*preces*) of religious community and intercourse.‡

"Amidst all this, we felicitate, in the Lord, our venerable brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of Spain for the zeal with which, whether they have remained in their diocess, or have had to leave it, they have used their efforts and solicitude to protect the cause of the Church as far as they have been able, never ceasing, either by word, or by writing, or by means of others, to care for the flock confided to their charges, guarding it against the dangers which beset religion. We also owe a just tribute of praise to the rest of the faithful Clergy, who have not failed to endure, to the utmost of their strength, the toils which so laudable a work has occasioned to them. We also equally praise the Catholic people, the immense majority of whom stand fast in their ancient respect towards the Bishops and Pastors of inferior dignity, canonically instituted, and we have hope, that the Lord, always rich in mercy, will regard his vineyard with propitious eyes.

"Do you, venerable brethren, continue, as undoubtedly you will, addressing with us to God, through Jesus Christ, prayers and supplications for that people, invoking the clement intercession of the Virgin

* St. Gregory of Nice. Discourse against those who bear chastisement with impatience, tom. v., p. 314, Morelli edit.

† Book of Wisdom.

‡ TERTULLIANI *Apologet.*, cap. 39.

without spot, MOTHER OF GOD,* and Protectress of Spain, and pray to the saints who have lived in that country, that, as at other times, by their intercession, by their virtues, their knowledge, and the blood they shed in testimony to the faith, they may come to the succour of their country; that their most pious supplications may obtain favour of the Lord, mercy and seasonable help for that nation, removing the calamities and perils by which it is oppressed."

The facts of the case are here distinctly stated. The colouring is Roman. The style is inflammatory; and if the exhortations at the close had been acted on by the Spanish people, simultaneous rebellion would have been the inevitable consequence. The civil authority would have been overpowered from one end of the Peninsula to the other; a massacre, perhaps not on a smaller scale than that of St. Bartholomew's night, would have been perpetrated. Or, if a gradually extending insurrection had left the Government time to assume the defensive, a civil war, even more bloody than that which had so recently ended, because more general, would have almost satisfied even the Tiberian wolf with blood. Again would the *Te Deum* have resounded in the Vatican, and terror, spreading to the verge of the civilized world, would have deepened the superstitious dread of one part of the Popish populations, and wrought up the indignation of the other into a higher pitch of fury against the name of Christian; and Spanish Popery, like Spanish Masonry, would have more hotly than ever urged its pretensions to respect by the example of its power.

But it pleased God to avert the catastrophe. The majority of the Spanish people, of whose assumed fidelity the Pope had hazarded a boast, were far from

* Name of blasphemy

responding to the summons to rebel. The municipal authorities of, I believe, all the chief towns, besides other public bodies, sent up addresses to the Regency, expressing disapprobation of the Pope's conduct, and that in the strongest language. And although it is clear enough to any one who has read those addresses, that they were drawn up by persons who know little about religion, it is satisfactory to perceive the good sense exhibited in repelling the attempt of the Court of Rome to "plunge them again into a state of ignorance and slavery."

Of such documents there are two which chiefly deserve attention: one issued by the Government, and therefore possessing political authority; and the other written by the Fiscal of Seville, a principal actor in the affair of the Bishop elect of Malaga, (or bearing his name,) on account of the doctrine it contains.

Second in order of time, but first in that of dignity, is "a manifest of the Spanish Government," as it was headed by the printers, subscribed by "José Alonso, as Minister of Grace and Justice." It appeared late, on July 30th, and was never published in the Gazette, nor even signed in the usual official manner. That the Government should reply to a document not addressed to them, might indicate a want of dignity; that it should not publish its reply officially, might seem to indicate a want of courage. But their position was critical, and doubtless they understood their own business. The Government, then, or Don José Alonso, spake thus:—

"With equal surprise and regret the Christian world must have received that allocution of His Holiness, which, pronounced in a secret consistory, has been forthwith published in thousands of printed copies, and circulated throughout Spain, and Europe. The expressions in which this short speech is couched are those of affliction and grief, the most profound

and piercing; but it is in reality a violent invective, in which the Spanish Government and nation are angrily accused as persecutors of the Church, suspected as to their faith, and threatened with exclusion from the bosom of Christendom, if they do not come to their senses again. So that it did not suffice for the unhappiness of this nation, that an intestine war of seven years should have been produced by the ambition of reigning; it must needs be, that, after the good sense and generosity of Spaniards on both sides had brought it to a close, the common Father of the faithful should come to fling this incendiary brand into the scarcely-quenched conflagration, that the Christian people might not cease to shed their blood, and the civil war might be renewed, converted into a war of religion.

"Happily we are not now in those times of odious memory in which a nod from the Vatican made thrones tremble, and agitated nations. There is no doubt but that the intention is extremely hostile; but neither is there any that it will be repelled, and vigorously made example of, because Spaniards well know on this occasion, as they have known on many others, how to distinguish perfectly well between what they owe to their faith, unstained as yet, and what is due to their security and independence; between the interests of the Church and of Jesus Christ, which are indeed to be respected, and the unjust and endless pretensions of the Court of Rome.

"Her Majesty's Government will not descend to a polemical dispute, into that field of subtilties and cavilings, where, at every point that is discussed, at every step of controversy, however secondary and divergent it may be, there is some maxim or principle to allege, some example, ancient or modern, to follow. No: this ground would ill become a great and noble nation; and the Spanish Government will pursue its

course more freely and resolutely. By pointing out with brevity and candour the facts which took place in this great business, from the death of Ferdinand VII., it will make it evident to the eyes of Spain, and of Europe, where ingenuousness and temperance are to be found, and where artifice and unreasonable obstinacy. So that no one will be surprised at the just and vigorous measures which the Government has to take, to defend the great interests which are confided to its vigilance and zeal.

"That Monarch had scarcely deceased, when His Holiness, to whom the intelligence was immediately conveyed, broke out into exclamations of grief, and said, that he was going to offer fervent prayers to the Almighty, that, in that circumstance, he would avert every disaster from the Catholic kingdom of Spain, bereft of its father. A noble and pious desire, had it not been perverted by the doubts which the Pontiff seemed to entertain at the same time, concerning the legitimacy of the right of our beloved Queen to succeed to the deceased King, her father. To this motive of suspicion were added his refusal to recognise her until he should have consulted other powers, and new complaints about the manner in which the Ecclesiastics were spoken of in some Spanish periodicals. In truth, this conduct of the Holy Father was neither more nor less than a beginning to realize for himself the disaster which he professed to fear, and a preparing shifts and excuses with a view to ulterior proceedings of the same dishonest kind (*desvíos*).

"In order to remove these doubts, the Pragmatic Sanction of March 31st, 1830, was communicated to him, in which are contained the orders of King Ferdinand; and he was informed of the unanimity with which all classes of the State had sworn allegiance to the Princess, Doña Isabel, as his heiress and successor, then become Queen, and recognised and obeyed on her

throne by all Spaniards. But the Pragmatic Sanction was merely regarded by the Holy Father as an important document, worthy to be referred to when the subject should be brought to a definitive issue.

"He was informed how weak the party of Don Carlos was in Spain, how small the number of troops that followed him, and that he had not so much as one province, nor a single capital, nor possession of any fortified position, from which to derive support or encouragement. His Holiness professed to doubt this, and was inclined to believe a different report, which he gathered from other papers which had been brought to his knowledge.

"It was finally urged, and distinctly explained to him, how little reason there was to deny to the innocent and fatherless Isabel, with so much right in her favour, that which had been allowed to Don Miguel in Portugal, although he was notoriously an usurper and perjured man. To this His Holiness replied, that the recognition of Don Miguel had not taken place until after two years of peaceable possession, and with the express exception that in recognising any existing sovereign, the Holy See did not intend to give judgment as to the rights of contending parties.

"Nor did the Spanish Government fail to make due reply to the complaints of the ill treatment which the Ecclesiastics had received in some publications. They had seen with pain the excess committed in those papers, and had suppressed the most blamable; but it was not possible, they added, to silence evil-speaking, while cause for censure was afforded. And when so many Ecclesiastics, as well secular as regular, not only allowed themselves to be carried away by movements which others had excited, but were themselves frequently the authors of riot and sedition, heading rebels, and directing the sack of towns, and the slaughter of their peaceable inhabitants; when religious houses

became the haunts in which conspiracies were planned, and temples were converted into arsenals in which to conceal warlike ammunition, it was not possible to veil such scandalous proceedings from the sight of the people, nor to repress indignation and ill-will, when they were related by the public press. All this was shown in the very papers to which His Holiness referred, and had even been officially communicated to him; and certainly it was strange indeed that he should attach so great importance to detraction, and yet should glance so slightly at the disorders which kept it alive. Ministers of the God of peace, converted into ministers of strife and desolation, could not but draw down general execration on themselves; and it is vain to require that they who appeared before the people laden with crimes, and imbrued in blood, should obtain that respect which is only due to sanctity of life. Such excesses might have been prevented by the Bishops at the first; but they, doubtful and undecided, because of the silence of the Holy Father, did not venture to interfere, nor to restrain their subjects who had gone astray; and the disorder increased through this apparent indifference.*

"Therefore, if a day should unhappily arrive, when the perils of religion and the troubles of its Ministers should be increased in Spain, all the occasion, if not all the blame, would be justly attributed to the conduct of so many bad Ecclesiastics, and the silence of their chief shepherds. These reflections, just as they were, and of so grave importance, which, neither from their author, nor at the juncture in which they were addressed, could be regarded as irreligious or revolutionary, found not admission into the mind of His Holiness. He reiterated his complaint, professing to be much grieved at the continual military executions to which Ecclesiastics

* This apology artfully conveys a severe, but just, censure of the Bishops.

were condemned; as if, having been taken under arms, they ought to have been dealt with in a different manner, and deserved more respect than other rebels.

"Thus was the time consumed in vain negotiations, without advancing a step in the political question of recognition. Indeed, this came to an end for that time by the categorical answer given to our Ambassador at Rome, and by the instructions sent to the Cardinal Tiberi, Nuncio of His Holiness at this Court, and to the Archbishop of Nice, who was nominated to succeed him, but who did not succeed; the whole coming to this, that His Holiness refused to acknowledge Queen Isabel, as long as she should not be recognised also by his other allies.

"Meanwhile the ecclesiastical question was on foot, which neither the Spanish Government nor the Roman See could so easily lose sight of. Several churches of the kingdom being deprived of their Bishops, Her Majesty's Government did not lose a moment in attending to their necessities, and presented to His Holiness the wise and virtuous Ecclesiastics whom they deemed worthy to fill those vacancies, and exercise so sacred a ministry. The custom in such cases, consistently with discipline, is not to delay the confirmation of the person nominated, nor the issuing of the Bulls, in order that the flock of Jesus Christ may not be long without Pastors. Far from proceeding thus in this case, the Holy See obstinately refused, year after year, the remedy of so urgent a necessity, sometimes under subtilties of the *Curia*, at other times with interested views, cautiously disguised under the appearance of a benign concession.

"The first difficulty was now about the manner of framing the clause of presentation, without seeming to prejudge the rights of the Princes contending on the dynastic question, which was being tried by arms on the Peninsula. In vain did the Spanish Government,

following the system of condescension observed by it from the first, propose various formulæ in which, the name of the Prince who presented for the vacant see being omitted, and the rest left open, the difficulty was avoided, and the Holy Father left free from temporal compromise. None of these was adopted by the Court of Rome; all were rejected under some pretext or other; and at last that was proposed which seemed most proper in the existing state of things. It was, that in the Bulls to be issued there should be no clause of presentation, but that it should be merely said, that His Holiness granted them of his own pleasure, and by the favour only of the Apostolic See. This was defended by the example of the Bishops presented by the dissentient Governments of America, whose nominations are confirmed by the Holy See, just in the same manner as it was proposed for Spain. And it was added, that by this silence it was not intended to disavow the patronage which belonged to the Crown; that His Holiness recognised the right, and was ready to acknowledge it in a separate declaration.

"But the snare, although artfully prepared, was not sufficiently so for the Spanish Government to be caught thereby. By virtue of the most respectable titles which canonical right establishes, titles recognised in the most solemn manner by the Supreme Pontiffs of all ages, the Catholic Sovereign possessed quietly and peaceably the patronate of the churches in his kingdom; and certainly it could not be convenient, nor becoming the crown of Isabel II., to give consent to the positive and public violation of that right. What would it avail, to seem to preserve it by means of a merely generous and separate protest? This was rather eluding the difficulty than meeting it with noble frankness and good faith. The Spanish Government had then gone as far as was consistent with its duties, and could not go further without overlooking its own dignity and decorum,

the rights of the nation, and the *regale* of the throne. It was resolved, therefore, not to admit any Bull of Confirmation for the Bishops elect, or that might thenceforth be elected, unless express mention should be therein made of the right of patronage belonging to the Crown, in the terms proposed, or in other equivalent. Ruinous, perhaps irremediable, would have been the consequences that might have resulted from the prolonged destitution of the churches of Spain, and the painful suspension of relations between so Catholic a kingdom and the Supreme Pontiff.

"But the enormous responsibility of these distressing consequences would fall on him who, heaping difficulties on difficulties, and adding delays to delays, would never come to an equitable determination. The reasonable use of our legitimate rights had been claimed by us in proper time; our deferential regard to religion, and to the tranquillity of the State, had been carried to the length now described; regard had been had all through to the laws of the monarchy, and to the venerable discipline of the Church of Spain; so that nothing remained for Her Majesty's Government to do. A reply to this effect was sent to the Court of Rome; and by forwarding the passports of style to the Nuncio thereupon, that he might return to his own country, an end was put to the negotiation.

"That the temporal Prince of Rome, surrounded by powerful neighbours, without any power to defend himself against them, if they should choose to do him harm, in need of their support against the domestic disturbances which threaten him every moment, a cipher, in short, for offence, and equally a cipher for defence, should yield to the views and earthly passions of these neighbours, is understood easily enough, and in some respects is matter of very little importance. But that the Supreme Pontiff, in his spiritual relations with Catholic States, should be guided by the same

interested views as those which he entertains as a Prince; that he should employ for the maintenance of these worldly interests the religious means which he has at his disposal, as visible head of the Church; and that, withholding the spiritual food which he ought to supply to all the faithful, he should wish, so to speak, to wear out the Spanish people with hunger, in order that, yielding at discretion, they might submit to the personal and political opinion which His Holiness prefers in the interests of his allies;—this, besides being excessively unjust, is unreasonable, and repugnant to the actual state of things, and to the nature and character of times and customs.

"But this singular and inconceivable resistance was not enough to satisfy the desires of the Roman Court, who also made use of other measures and attempts more directly hostile. They refused, at first, to acknowledge the Commissary of Crusade named by Her Majesty; and not being able to avoid yielding this point, limited the grant of Lent indulgence to one year, it being the custom to give it for ten. But this was not yet enough; and, to render this grace unserviceable as far as might be, a Bull of His Holiness was clandestinely introduced, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, authorizing the Confessors to dispense by themselves the indulgence to the penitents, in return for a small contribution for the poor. For grave reasons of State, the institution of the Jesuits was suppressed; and a remonstrance against this suppression was sent by the Holy See, in which it was officially styled 'an attack upon religion and the Church.'

"The Holy Father in person pronounced an allocution, in the Consistory of February 2d, 1836, analogous with the document on which we are now engaged, and a worthy forerunner of it in doctrine and intention. The Supreme Tribunal of Justice cited and summoned to appear the Bishop of Leon, first agent and counsel-

lor of Don Carlos, that he might answer in the cause which was there pending; and instantly the Court of Rome claimed for him ecclesiastical immunity, and demanded in his favour exemption from that authority, as if the principal promoter of rebellion and civil war could be regarded as a privileged person. And not to leave any doubt as to the sympathy of that Court with the interest and object of the faction, this same seditious and sanguinary Bishop was the person to whom the Pope delegated powers to see to the necessities of the country occupied by the troops of Don Carlos, to grant dispensations and graces, (among which was a Lent dispensation for *two* years,) and to salve the irregularities which the Ecclesiastics might commit, or, which is the same thing, let them loose, to go on without restraint in their abominable disorders.

"Fortunately, all these manœuvres, designed to produce a schism in the Church of Spain, and to favour the party of the Pretender, have taken no effect whatever. The briefs and dispatches of the Court of Rome, although composed with religious and ecclesiastical forms of language, as to their exterior, were none other than warlike ammunition, supplied by an ally in a common cause, but which passed off in smoke, and were consumed in battles lost. The triumphant arms of the Queen, conquering provinces, and pardoning the conquered, enlarged, from day to day, the empire of legitimacy, and of reason. The embrace of Vergara,* quickly, as by a lightning-flash, annihilated all this vain parade of hopes, and of illusions; and the Spaniards, all joining hands under the victorious standard of Isabel II. around the constitutional throne, could defy the power, and contemn the tricks and machinations, of their implacable enemies.

* See page 285.

"It will be incredible to posterity, that among these enemies, the Father of the Faithful must still be counted. Not only had every motive to hostility now ceased, but there was not even a pretext for disagreement. There was not now in all Spain one weapon levelled, nor one voice raised, nay, not one man remaining on the field. Consequently no appeal could now be made to the convenient distinction between power *de facto*, and power *de jure*, invented by policy to cover inconsistencies. In short, it was to be hoped, and it did appear, that reason, expediency, and even the interest of the Church would advise, that the Holy Father should determine to recognise the rights and *regale* of the Queen of Spain, and should confirm the Bishops nominated by her. But the Holy Father's mind, prejudiced and pre-occupied by our political enemies, was not disposed to listen to this prudent and noble suggestion. His aversion was increased in proportion to our good fortune. And when so many churches of Spain, without any Pastor of their own, were praying him, weeping for so many years, he, deaf, insensible to their cries, gave them, instead of answer, this sour declamation, pronounced in his consistory, in which, attacking with unequalled violence the temporal authority of the Queen of Spain, he thus endeavours, although in vain, to justify his own hardness, and unjustifiable obstinacy.

"Under a canonical point of view, and with respect to its doctrine, the allocution of His Holiness is now examined by eminently learned men, and has been submitted to the judgment of the supreme tribunal of justice. It is the interminable dispute between the Priest and the empire about the temporalty of the Church; it is the endless contention between the pretensions of the Roman Court, and the *regalia* of Princes. Of the complaints which His Holiness crowds into that writing, truly there is not one in

which this idea is not apparent, there is not one in which the intention of some advancement, of some ecclesiastical usurpation over the civil authority, is not involved. The Spanish Government has already stated, that it declines from entering into the arguments of schools; it behoves it to consider the political consequences which such pretensions bring along with them, and cast far away all such as are incompatible with the security and good administration of the State, with the decorum and independence of the nation, and with the prerogatives of the throne.

"Certainly it would be necessary, in order to engage the Holy Father to be silent, that Her Majesty's Government should despoil itself of the right which belongs to it to protect and defend any of its subjects who, wronged by ecclesiastical tribunals, should seek protection by the acknowledged and legal right of appeal. It would be also necessary, that the Government should submit to suffer, without a proper assertion of its right, reckless remonstrances, assumption of facts ill conceived and ill explained. In short, the undue and unauthorized meddling of an Ecclesiastic, who, under claim of being Vicegerent of a Nuncio in the tribunal of the Rota, (Vicegerent rather tolerated than authorized,) should meddle with matters not belonging to him, and break through all respect due to the nation and the Government, in his impertinent and hostile correspondence. This were neither becoming nor possible; and the inevitable consequence of such an imprudent step was what it should be: it was commanded, that he should be banished from the kingdom, since he had set himself up against the supreme authority of the State, and that the tribunal of the Rota should be closed.

"The supreme Pontiff exclaims against this order, which he calls a manifest violation of his sacred and

apostolic jurisdiction, exercised in Spain, he says, without any obstacle, ever since the first ages of the Church. But the Government denies this to be fact, and cites the authority of one of the Councils of Toledo, with the evidence of the ancient history of Spain, in the assurance, that the Nuncios of the Holy See never exercised jurisdiction in Spain, until Don Charles * requested it in the year 1527, reserving to himself, and his successors, by this very fact, the right of revoking the privilege granted in their favour. The Government is also certain, that such jurisdiction has never been exercised in this kingdom, either anciently or in these times, without the approbation of the Princes. For this there is no necessity to go back to the memorial of any very distant period, as we see, that, in the reign of Don Philip V., the tribunal of the Nunciature was closed by order of the Government; and in that of Don Charles III., it was suspended for seven years, until that, in consequence of the brief of March 26th, 1771, the tribunal of the Rota was substituted for it. And the Court of Spain was not on that account accused of violating the rights of the supreme Pontiff in this respect, nor did the Roman Court then dare to insult the religion and the majesty of those Monarchs with such a declaration.

"With not less grief and bitterness are considered, in the discourse of His Holiness, the suppression of the religious houses, the transfer of their property to the national funds, the outrage, as he calls it, on the ecclesiastical immunity in things and persons, the suspension of conferring sacred orders, and the property of the secular Clergy threatened. To give shape and weight to his invective, facts are misrepresented in one part of it, in another charges are anticipated,

* More generally known as Charles V., Emperor.

and in the whole the principle is laid down of which that Court is so fond, that the civil authority must not be permitted to interfere in disposing of the temporal affairs of the Clergy, without the knowledge and consent of the ecclesiastical. The Holy Father takes this ground, on which to reprobate, as he does before all his Cardinals, all that is recounted in his complaints, to make void and to annul all the decrees of the Government on the points to which reference is made, and all their consequences, and to declare, that they have been, and shall eternally be, null, and of no force.

"Never has the Holy See, from the times of Gregory VII., until now, maintained such high pretensions, nor made them known in a manner so imprudent and so reckless. Make void and annul! Whence has the Apostolic Chair this new prerogative, which, if recognised, would again place kingdoms in the hands of the supreme Pontiff, and Princes at his feet? Make void and annul! Never, with so little consideration, were the rights and attributions of the temporal power outraged. Never has greater contempt been thrown on the *regale* of Spain, and of her Monarchs, which was always acknowledged. As if the controverted points belonged to the high regions of doctrine and of faith, and were not evidently matter of mere civil administration, and temporal interest, the Pope arrogates to himself the right of resolving on them, and sets himself up as a superior over one who, in the exercise of authority on behalf of the State, neither can nor will acknowledge in any one the least shadow of supremacy.

"Nor is it easy to point out the origin of this sudden and unwonted confidence in the Court of Rome. Is it because the throne of Spain is occupied by a fatherless and innocent child, and is therefore destitute of strength, devoid of counsel, and incapable of reso-

lution? Or is it the state of our public affairs which gives it so great courage? And does it hope, that even if it can find help in no fellow-feeling among us, this haughty remonstrance will pass, at least, without being noticed, or without being avenged, because of the noisy conflict of the parties? The Holy Father is much deceived if he thinks so; and he may be sure, that there will be persons of no set of opinions, of no party, that there will be no individual, unless, indeed, he be attached to the vilest interest, and most impure superstition, that will not help and support the Queen, Isabel II., and her Government, against this unheard-of aggression.

"Her Majesty has the way marked out, which, in anticipation of such cases, the example of many of her predecessors makes plain, who, without prejudice to their religion and their piety, have known how to take down those excesses of the Roman Pontiffs with a firm and unflinching hand. When the King of Castile, John II., was blamed for the imprisonment of a Prelate, he answered, that every Bishop who should be turbulent within his kingdom, he would send him to prison, fold up his habit, and send that to the Holy Father. When Ferdinand the Catholic was offended at the commission which a pontifical courier had carried into the kingdom of Naples, he expressed great displeasure, that the effrontery and insolence of the man had not been punished with the utmost rigour, and threatened, that if the Pope did not give up his unjust demand, he would deprive him of all obedience in the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. In the disputes raised between the Holy See, and the Princes of the house of Austria, as soon as ever these were convinced of the uselessness of their reverential applications to His Holiness, they adopted those measures which were requisite for the dignity of their king-

doms, and the preservation of their rights; and, according to the nature of the cases on which those disputes treated, some threatened to cut off, and others did cut off, all communication with Rome. They expelled the Nuncio from their dominions, they closed the tribunal of the Nunciature, they prohibited appeal to Rome, except in special and necessary cases, which the King himself might judge to be such. They also prohibited application for Bulls, and remittance of money for such objects; they caused all to leave the capital who there received any income from Spain; and, in short, they enjoined on the Bishops, that they should make use of their own faculties, as in cases in which resort to the Holy See was impossible. That See issued a brief, or monitory, against the Government of Parma, in which the *regale* of an independent State was attacked, and the pious Charles III., considering his own, and that of other Catholic Princes, to be attacked also in this ambitious attempt, commanded, that the brief should be suppressed, as well as whatever other papers, letters, or dispatches of the Roman Court might offend his royal rights, disquiet consciences, and peril the tranquillity of his kingdom. Profoundly devoted to the service of the Popes, and equally favoured by them, was the institution of the Jesuits, so powerful, so popular. But it has the misfortune to be incompatible with the security of the State, and the same religious Monarch suppresses it in his dominions, expels its members, and confiscates its temporalities, keeping to himself the causes of so vigorous a proceeding, and this without consulting the Roman Court beforehand, or awaiting its consent. It were superfluous to multiply examples. The same thing would be evident from others, as from these now adduced, that the Kings of Spain, even the most pious, have not allowed themselves to be

overcome by these pretensions of the Holy See, and have defended their rights in the temporal concerns of the Church, with a determination and vigour which ought to serve as guide to their successors.

"The Queen, Doña Isabel II., has the same rights, and her present Government is resolved to defend them with no less energy. And now that the supreme Pontiff, refusing, as a temporal Prince, to acknowledge Her Majesty as legitimate successor on the throne of her ancestors, refuses also, as spiritual Father of the faithful, to remedy the necessities of the Church of Spain; and not content with this prolonged resistance, suddenly raises his voice in his consistory to attack the supreme authority of the State, to annul its acts, and set himself up as superior over one who does not acknowledge him to be so, nor even an equal; it is he himself who rears a wall of separation between the two courts, and closes the door, for the present, against every friendly relation, and every kind of agreement. In short, the violent allocution of the Holy Father can only be considered as a declaration of war against Queen Isabel II., against public security, and against the constitution of the State. It is, in reality, a manifesto in favour of the conquered and expelled Pretender, and a scandalous provocative to schism, discord, and rebellion. Therefore Her Majesty's Government can no longer keep silence with regard to that attack, consistently with loyalty and honour, nor fail to employ against it all the just means which reason, expediency, the discipline of the Church, and the power of a great and noble nation, so undeservedly aggrieved, put into its hands.

"Madrid, July 30th, 1841. As Minister of Grace and Justice,

"Jose Alonso."

Here is a summary of the whole dispute, which must be marked as a most important event in the religious history of Europe, and worthy of careful study. An extract of the second answer to the allocution, as above mentioned, not to occupy the reader's time by the whole, is a fair specimen of public feeling, and even, in some passages, of evangelical eloquence, drawn from the word of God, and perhaps providentially supplied for our encouragement. The New Testament was well used in the composition of the letter; and the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society may have contributed not a little to the improved state of general sentiment, which insured it an enthusiastic reception in the country. The writer, DON PERFECTO GANDARIAS, apostrophizes Gregory XVI. in a strain which, if it did not reach his conscience, must have stirred his indignation.

"Although the Church cannot be destroyed, and shall continue until the consummation of the ages, she may suffer disquiet, and be torn by a schism which the genius of evil may introduce among true believers, to delight himself afterwards in their troubles, as he has done in the civil war. And then, most blessed Father, on whom shall fall so grave responsibility as will be exacted for all this? What account will the shepherd render to his Master when He shall charge him with having either allowed, or cared not, that wolves should enter into the sheep-fold which He had confided to him? Most heavy charge! Tremendous responsibility! ....." Lord, if there was any carelessness, it consisted in that, the shepherds and the shepherds' men that tended the flock not being very comfortable, at their instance and complaints, I went away with them to dispute about a pleasant and rich estate which we had possession of in former times; and while this dispute was going on, the misfortune happened, for which we

are very sorry'.....'Why were ye not contented,' says the Lord, 'with the estate which I left thee? and why hast thou departed from the instructions which I gave thee? I told thee that thy kingdom was not of this world. Then why this anxiety of thine to enter into it? What a contradiction is this thy conduct! Hast thou forgotten that I charged thee and thine that ye should not heap up treasures on the earth, but lay them up in heaven, because where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also, and because no man can serve two masters, God and mammon? Did I not tell thee that ye should seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and that ye should not be troubled, saying, What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed? Have you no remembrance of my chief charge of all, that ye should be at peace with all men? Peace, said I, I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. Well then, tell me, Master-shepherd, why hast thou departed from these instructions of mine, so clear, so plain, that there is no need of theology to explain them, nor is there any subtilty that can obscure them? My instructions are clear as the crystal stream that gushes from the rock, distinct as is the sun in his unchanging course. Why, then, as they are so certain, hast thou departed from them? Thy excuse, Master-shepherd, is of no force whatever, and the reasons on which thou restest look very like worldly things. It seems that the riches and conveniences of this world engage thy attention more, and keep thee more employed, than do peace and everlasting happiness, which are things of heaven, and riches most precious to every one who serves me in spirit and in heart. Thou hast not fulfilled, Master-shepherd, the injunction which I laid on thee. It is to serve

another master that thou departest from my instructions and my doctrine; and by thus abandoning thy flock, thou hast caused it to suffer this mischief. Thou hast fallen from the love of God and man; thou thyself hast sought out eternal condemnation, unto which from this day thou art doomed, in punishment of thy most heinous and unpardonable sin.'.....Yes, most blessed Father, this is indeed a certain and fearful excommunication; and you will agree with me that it is impossible to ward off the chastisement which God inflicts by the hands of men on those who do not fulfil their mission, and, making an ill use of their power, become despots."

In such a strain wrote Don Perfecto Gandarias, precursor, it is to be hoped, of many other Spaniards who will advance far beyond him, repudiate every pretension, and withhold every title, which the Bishop of Rome urges and assumes as Vicar of Christ and successor of Peter; and deliver the same truths, unembarrassed by acknowledgment of his demand on the reverence of Christendom, a demand which the most enlightened Spaniards already regard with abhorrence.

But it is satisfactory to know that a more than paper war was waged between Madrid and Rome. The Government was resolved to *govern;* and this becoming resolution was evinced in all its acts. Its agents were to be cognizant of every act of the priesthood, no longer an insulated and independent body; and a decree was issued in January of this year, requiring the municipal boards of all cities and towns to enforce a system of civil registration of marriages, baptisms, and burials, and prohibiting Priests to baptise or bury until they should have received a certificate from the civil Registrar that the birth or decease had been already notified to him. This would be felt

by the whole body as a deeply mortifying restraint on their proceedings. The necessity to name for every child a father must be perplexing to the priesthood, whose illicit progeny is so numerous. Yet their ingenuity, unshackled by conscience, may evade the salutary vigilance of Magistrates, and supposititious fathers may be found in Spain as heretofore. But a heavier storm was gathering.

The Popish Priests in Spain, as in every other country, are bound to their visible head far more strongly than to the interests of their native land. Their home lies elsewhere. In Spain, therefore, the allocution above translated was received by the priesthood in general as obligatory; and although the majority of them followed the surer and more convenient system of reserve, others, more venturous, rose up and bearded the Government in the true style of Romish insubordination. The chapter of Toledo distinguished itself by formal opposition to the civil authority. At first it addressed itself to the Regency in a style of studious respectfulness, desiring to act independently in religious matters. The tendency of this application was obvious, and it was necessarily rejected. The Priests of that diocess then united, to the number of fifty-seven, and issued a sort of manifesto declarative of their adherence to the allocution, and determination to act on the principles therein contained. This was met by the imprisonment and subsequent banishment of forty of them; and similar reactions between priestly resistance and official authority took place in the dioceses of Oviedo, Burgos, and Zaragoza, as well as in other parts of the kingdom; and the acting Archbishop of Toledo having sent in his resignation of the dignity conferred on him by those whom he deemed incompetent to give him a mission, he retired from the field together with the others. Everywhere there were signs

of clerical discontent. Some Priests refused to act under the orders of the civil power. Several also refused to admit to the communion of the Church those who held property alienated therefrom; and some proceeded to preach against the existing constitution. But all such efforts only served to bring a heavier yoke upon their neck, and to place the nation in such a defensive position, that it became daily more difficult to devise how a reconciliation with Rome could ever be effected. While matters went on thus, the dispute was brought to an issue by the enactment of two laws; by one of which the Church was made entirely subservient to the State, and by the other was deprived of the chief means of recovering its power.

The former provided for the maintenance of the Clergy and ecclesiastical establishments, and for the repairs of churches; and the latter declared the property of the Clergy to belong to the nation, specifying, however, some trifling exceptions, and directed as to the appropriation of its value. It were superfluous to say that by these two laws the relation between Church and State in Spain was entirely changed.

To them succeeded several minor, yet highly important, legal arrangements, tending to the better administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and to the prevention of mischief which might be done by vagrant and political Priests. The civil Governors were to see that Priests kept within their parishes. Persons possessed of chaplaincies, or property for the tenure of which certain services were to be rendered to the Church, were constituted absolute proprietors, with transmission to their heirs of either sex, and whatever "state," and power to alienate at pleasure. All fees were to be settled by law, and to be duly accounted for when received. Supernumerary churches were to be shut up, and the parishes to which they belonged united with those

contiguous; and directions were again issued, insuring to the Government a complete control over the appointment of Priests, and oversight of their conduct in the exercise of their functions. And Espartero, Duke of Victory, having been elected sole Regent in the early part of the year, saw fit to use the right of his high office, banishing several dignitaries, and appointing others in their stead. Voluntary associations of persons professing devotion to "some sacred name, or other pious object," were made use of to other ends than the avowed; and by the revival of existing laws they were summarily suppressed.

Nor was this rigour unjustifiable, but rather necessary. In Cadiz, for example, the members of these devout fraternities wrote up sentences in the streets at night, religious, yet inflammatory, to awaken sympathy or aversion in the populace, who became excited. Even a servant employed by his master to cleanse off such an inscription from the front of his house, narrowly escaped death from the knife of an assassin; and a friend of mine, too well known for loyalty to the constitution, was obliged, in self-defence, to carry pistols in his pocket, because of a conspiracy which was formed to take away his life. The more respectable part of the inhabitants were alarmed, as well they might be; for the atrocities of the fanatical priesthood were fresh in their recollection. The knife had already been unsheathed in open day, not by a common robber, not in a private quarrel, but by one of a fraternity, who, for aught they knew, might be sworn to the perpetration of a wholesale massacre. The keen eye of a Spaniard could discern much meaning in the following paper, small, and dropped about the streets at night, without possibility of detection, from under the ample cloaks of the distributors. One of them lies before me, and is of the following size and figure:—

Señor Jesus! cubrid con la proteccion de vuestro divino Corazon á nuestro Santisimo Padre el Papa.

Segundo Decenario Doloroso.

JESUS AZOTADO.

Contempla que nuestro Salvador para pagar nuestros delitos, con indecible paciencia recibió sobre su cuerpo sagrado golpes sin número de azotes.

Fruto. ☞*El amor de la Penitencia.*

ORACION.

Nuestro amor para vos, O Jesus! no seria verdadero si no nos unimos á vuestros dolores, cuando la mayor parte de los hombres os desconocen y ultrajan.

In English thus:—"*O Lord Jesus, cover with the protection of your divine heart our most Holy Father the Pope. Second Dolorous Decenary.* JESUS SCOURGED. Contemplate how our Saviour, to pay for our crimes, with unspeakable patience received on his sacred body blows without number of stripes. *Fruit.* ☞ *The love of Penance.* PRAYER.—Our love towards thee, O Jesus! would not be true, if we were not to unite ourselves with your sorrows, when the greatest part of men disown and insult you." Alas for Spain, where sedition, bloodshed, and participation in the sorrows of Christ, are deemed to be fitly associated in the same persons and for the same cause!

But the Spanish people were too well instructed as to the genius of Popery to be outwitted or alarmed.

Mention has already been made of a Society proposed to be established under the sanction of the Government, in order to the propagation of their High-Church principles, and the counteraction of our efforts. The sanction of Government was never given; but the Society was surreptitiously formed, and began to be in active operation, when it was found that it could not be tolerated with safety. The opponents of Protestantism were, at the same time, seditious opponents of all the constituted authorities, as was proved by papers found in the possession of the delinquents; the seal of the Society, and a mass of official correspondence in the hands of the Secretary, at Madrid, were seized, and deposited in one of the public offices, and forthwith the Society was suppressed by a decree.

Here is a most instructive fact, illustrative of the intimate and indissoluble union of religion and politics in the Church of Rome, and the tendency of her communities, maintained as they are, with a show of sanctity and extraordinary zeal. The projectors of that Society did not intend to employ argumentation alone, and that only against the inroads of Protestantism, but under the pretext of doing so, cloked a system of secret political correspondence, connecting a multitude of agents all over the kingdom into one body, under one influence, ready to be employed at any favourable time for the subversion of laws and institutions essential to the prosperity of Spain, but adverse to their peculiar interests. I know that this observation will be offensive to some easy-minded persons in our own country, should it meet their eye; but will they be pleased to mark, that it is not my own, but was first made by the very Government which "the Society of the Seal," as it was called, ineffectually endeavoured to engage to sanction its organization. They, not I, discovered and published the design. But we may

with reason be thankful, that the suppression of this Society has removed one more obstacle to the diffusion of the Gospel of Christ; for had it been legalized, its proceedings against us would have had great force, and attempts to introduce religious liberty by the Legislature would have been encountered by a newly-created, and perhaps insuperable, opposition. And here again we can discern the finger of God; his prescient wisdom and mercy visibly laying open a way for the evangelization of Spain. "The Lord will hasten it in his time."

CHAPTER XII.

Present State of popular Feeling in Spain as to Religion, and of the moral Character of Spaniards—Suggestions in View of future Labours.

After the historical details here given, it is desirable that we should come to a practical conclusion. It remains, therefore, to consider, 1. What appears to be the actual state of Spain as to religion and morals; and, 2. What means may be employed for the remedy of existing evils.

1. The times of blind credulity are past. The legends which were impiously substituted for Gospel truth, the daily lessons of the Popish Church, are heard by the more intelligent with contempt, and by the vulgar with indifference or ridicule. And this is just what might have been expected. Neither the doctrines nor the miracles of Popery could have been the subject of faith, resting on a calm and rational persuasion of their verity; and now that a spirit of doubting and inquisitiveness pervades the nation, there has arisen a simultaneous protestation against priestcraft, accompanied by the suspicion, that for ages past the dominant religion was but kept up for the profit of the Ecclesiastics. Had a body of evangelical Teachers been at hand when these matters began to be openly discussed, or had the press been free, the popular mind might have been taken at its turn from abject submission towards reckless unbelief, and guided into a better course. But not a voice was raised, nor was a pen employed, in Spain itself to contribute towards such an influence. Political infidels, with an activity which nominal Protestants would do well to imitate, spare no effort to root out every feeling of religious

reverence, and find the populace far more easy to be wrought upon than a stranger to Spain could be persuaded to believe. When the farrago of an obsolete superstition failed to engage respect, no object of faith remained to hold fast the veneration of the vulgar, because the cardinal truths of revealed religion which are said to be common to Protestant and Papist, were lost under that enormous heap of errors,—were not merely concealed, but nullified. For as long as a truth is mixed up with falsehood, it loses its character of truth, and takes the quality of the lie with which it is combined; nor can it be extricated therefrom by any process of honest reasoning. The mind of the multitude was thoroughly debased by the inevitable influence of the prevailing falsehood, which truth could never leaven and improve; and it needed not the raillery of French infidels to make the Spaniards infidel. Not a few of the Priests were already infidel, and they knew it, and were hardly scandalized with familiar confessions like that of a Roman Cardinal: *Jam satis notum est quantum profuit nobis fabula Christi.* Those men were found to be of no service, either to instruct or to restrain. Their influence to restrain was as null as their attempts to teach were inefficacious; and as this is now fairly ascertained, a large portion of the people are quite willing to dispense with their unprofitable ministrations.

The dissolution of the monasteries, the diminution of the number of the parochial priesthood, the transfer of property from the Church to the State, the hostile position assumed by either party, and the open association of absolute monarchy and Papal tyranny, have not merely reduced almost to nothing the influence of the Priests over the people, but have placed the people over the heads of the Priests; and a crisis is brought about which cannot be of long continuance, but must rapidly induce a new state of things. If the

rupture with Rome be not healed by a Concordat, a national Church may be formed, having no dependence on that See; in which case the national interests of the Clergy may be brought into some apparent agreement with those of the laity, they may sometimes co-operate with the Cortes and the Sovereign, and pass for a respectable body of men deserving the good opinion of the public. In such an event the Protestant religion would probably be kept at still greater distance, unless brought in by some special act of God's good providence; and they would soon domineer in the full pride of sole and undisputed occupation. If the quarrel be perpetuated, which (after the example of Portugal, which now again crouches before the Papal Nuncio) one can hardly venture to hope, the probability is, that the more pompous externals of Popery would become obsolete, that the business of the Clergy would be merely to marry, baptize, and bury, with a few confessions, a few masses, and the delivery of a few half-political sermons, just to please their masters; and that they being kept in a state of well-merited degradation, Heathenism would triumph. According to present appearances, the alternative here supposed would seem to be inevitable, and it presents a most dismal prospect. Yet may we hope, that in this age of light, when the sound of the Gospel has gone forth to the ends of the earth, and the period of universal Christianity approaches, God will not avert his face from beholding the wretchedness of this people, shut his ear against the prayers offered on their behalf, nor withhold the influences of his Holy Spirit on the good seed already sown, although but scantily.

As to the morals of the Spaniards, I have nothing to say beyond what is too obviously true to be disputed,—that although it is their fashion to call themselves a Catholic and religious people, sound morality cannot co-exist with corrupt religion, or with libertine

impiety. Nay, even the word "morality" has a latitude of application in their language which indicates a total misapprehension of its original meaning. The army, for example, is said to be demoralized, if disaffected; and Protestants are, by a similar aberration of language, said to be immoral, because they dissent from Popish mummeries; so that immorality is made synonymous with disaffection and dissent. This anomaly is not peculiar to Spain and Spaniards; but it occurs to me, as I write, as exemplifying the lamentable fact, that purity and rectitude, under Romish domination, are as nothing when conformity is in question. In short, veracity, chastity, and their kindred virtues, are scarcely known but as names. "Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey." The prevalence of infanticide among persons of all classes has been already noticed; and the assertions made may be verified on investigation.

But, while saying this, it is most just to acknowledge, that they occupy an honourable position in the intellectual scale, and only await a more favourable state of things for the display of their ability; and that when free from the influence of party spirit, they are frank, benevolent, hospitable, and, in all, sincere. I cannot understand why they are so generally thought to be characteristically perfidious and cruel, unless the atrocities of the Priests are attributed to the people, who have suffered too much from them to be laden with the odium beside. The excesses committed during the excitement and disorganization of the late civil war may be adduced in confirmation of this prejudice; but such occurrences do not furnish fair evidence on which to estimate the national character of any people.

The state of literature is still most unsatisfactory. Men are free to write as they please on any subject except religion. The human understanding, when it would meddle with matters of faith or worship, is laid under a ban. It must not act, lest it should dictate its discoveries, or its convictions should be published. Every writer on religious subjects has hitherto proceeded on false premises; and under cover of these premises, assumed for the sake of convenience, the most crude and incoherent notions are put forth. As yet no independent author has printed so much as one religious pamphlet that could be reprinted by us in its original form. A heartless profession of orthodoxy, in the Romish acceptation of the word, is the lie which they hold in their right hand; and this the writers themselves would hardly scruple to acknowledge in private conversation. But a prevalent notion is, that one may innocently publish many propositions which he does not believe, if he can thrust in but one truth among them. The fact is, that there is no standard of literary integrity; nor can there be in a country where it is unlawful to publish what is true, and where every writer on religious subjects professes to submit his reason to the Church, and his conscience to the law. So long, therefore, as the Spanish nation will submit to this remnant of spiritual and civil despotism, (for it is a combination of both,) they must be content that, for their benefit, we print out of Spain works written in their language, but which would otherwise have issued from their presses, and that thus the title-page of every tract or volume should exhibit to Europe and the world evidence of the dishonourable fact, that Spain is not yet free.

2. But now to the question, What can be done? Much can be done with little difficulty; but there is also much that ought to be done in spite of all.

We both can and ought to pay some regard to our

fellow-subjects in that country. The British Government has it in its power to cause the observance of some form of our religion by its Envoy, and his suite, at the Court of Madrid. While pecuniary grants are made for so great a diversity of ecclesiastical uses all over the empire, it cannot be penury which withholds from the representative of our Sovereign in a foreign Court a Chaplain whose ministrations should maintain the appearance of reverence towards God, and whose prayers, if he were a man of prayer, might return in blessings on those who have important, and often perplexing, duties to discharge, in which the welfare of our countrymen, and the honour of our country, are so intimately concerned.

In consequence of the revival of mining operations in Spain, the extension of steam navigation along the coast, (the engineers and others being chiefly English,) and other commercial arrangements, there is a large and advancing increase of British inhabitants and visiters. They are now found in considerable numbers in all the principal sea-port towns, in addition to the merchants, and merchant-seamen, resident or trading as formerly. But for these no provision is made. The sailor, for example, suffers a wound, or a broken limb, or falls sick, and is sent on shore to a hospital. All around him is strange and comfortless. A few visits from his Captain while the vessel is yet in the port, and now and then a call from the Consul, is the utmost social comfort which he can expect. If these persons are religious, well. But more generally their ideas of kindness will go no further than to cheer his spirits, and to supply him with newspapers. Forlorn, and in anguish, he is rather stupified than aroused to cry to God for mercy on his soul; and he dies without instruction, counsel, or hope. When his body is taken to the grave, perhaps cast out into some waste ground for want of a proper burial-place, no Christian

Minister can be found to solemnize the funeral; and the general impression, that we are godless heretics, is strengthened by the melancholy and degrading exhibition.

Or mark another case. A family leaves our shores, and takes up its abode at Barcelona, Malaga, or Cadiz. The parents had punctually attended at their own place of worship, and one or two of their children had been taught in the Sunday-school to fear God. The Lord's day comes. They inquire for the house of prayer. There is none. Nay, some will even tell them, that Protestant churches are not allowed there, nor Protestant customs tolerated; and they are cautioned not to offend the prejudices of the people by talking about religion. Prayers, indeed, may be read at the Consulate once a week; but, from some cause or other, Consuls, however worthy as political or commercial agents, are not very acceptable substitutes for Ministers, and their meetings are not much frequented. They inquire for an English school: there is no such thing. Their children must be sent to native schools, where they are required to join, or without formal requisition they cannot but join, in what are presumed to be the innocent ceremonies of the accustomed worship. A bell rings, for example, when "His Majesty," the wafer, is carried past, and all drop on their knees, and cross themselves. This mummery is much like child's play, and the children begin to like it. The family is afflicted. No Christian friend is near. No kind Pastor shepherds the little flock with zealous assiduity; and whether father, mother, or child be on the bed of languishing, no prayer is heard to be offered up for present help in time of need. From the first, the Lord's day was not hallowed; and the form of religion having been cast away, the fear of God is lost. Sons and daughters grow up to maturity: they speak the language of the country, and remember little or

nothing of their own: they have formed attachments, and the time is come that they should be united in marriage. To custom, misinterpreted as law, it is taken for granted, that they must yield. The Priest joins the English youth in wedlock to a native of the town. Both kneel at the high altar, swallow the host, and profess devotion to *the Church*. Soon afterwards their first-born child is baptized into the same communion; others follow; and not only is the name of Protestant extinct in the family, but in the true spirit of such proselytes, they are inimical to every word or deed that might be disagreeable to "the Catholics."

Take yet another case,—one of a multitude. Two or three servants, male and female, are induced, by promise of good wages and easy work, to go out to Spain, and serve in some English, or Anglicised-Spanish, family. The poor creatures do not think of stipulating for liberty of conscience; but away they go, hoping to make their fortunes, and perhaps they find themselves in reality much better circumstanced as to temporals than they would have been in England. At first no one troubles them on account of religion, either on one side or the other; and because they are in a land where public religious duties cannot be performed, they imagine themselves to be exonerated from obligation to perform them, and the private exercises of prayer and self-examination are neglected also. Yet one of the number cherishes the sacred remembrance of by-gone days. Such an one will sometimes be serious amidst mirth, check the profane levity of fellow-servants, or reprove a blasphemer. No great offence is given by the freedom of one who is set down as a *beata*, or devotee; but controversial conversation follows, and the peculiarity of character of the English servant is soon noised abroad, and draws on her the observation of her mistress's clerical guests. The conscientious woman holds out against attempts to

proselyte, direct and indirect; but the others, not so strict, make friends for themselves by going to see mass, then to confer with Priests, then to confess, and forthwith to communicate; for before they were aware, they had been taken in the snare laid for them from the hour of their landing. The solitary Protestant is now plied with tracts, and drawn into conflicts with the Priests. Still she resists, and seems to be given over as intractable. But time is passing, she grows elderly, is superannuated, lives for a little on her savings and casual resources, droops in the infirmities of age, is laid on the death-bed, worried into a sort of compliance with the importunity of artful Priests, and their emissaries, purchases quietness by a reluctant profession of Popery, bequeathes her little stock to a hungry Cleric, is subjected to extreme unction, dies, is buried in consecrated ground, and her unhappy spirit mourns, too late! the apostasy which might have been prevented had she been attended by a faithful Pastor, or conscientious friend.

Surely Christians must mourn over these defections; and even mere Englishmen who believe that our principles, as Protestants, tend to national security and glory, must lament, and be ashamed. In all the larger Spanish sea-port towns, Christian Ministers ought to be stationed, and charged to watch over the spiritual instruction, and right education, of English, American, and other Protestants, who would, in general, be brought to avail themselves of their valuable services, at least, after the spirit of Heathenism, now too prevalent, should have been counteracted in some degree by their influence and labours. A new state of habits would soon follow, and some general apprehension of divine things would eventually be established.

I venture to state, that there does not exist any legal hinderance to such appointments. Intercourse with our fellow-subjects may be enjoyed without

restriction; worship may be solemnized by us in the English language without restraint. Whether churches may be built, is not the first question; but when they come to be needed, there is no reason to apprehend, that we should not be quite at liberty to proceed to their erection, as in Lisbon, Rome, and elsewhere. And schools would generally be maintained on their own resources, without any further expense from home than for the outfit and first establishment of the Masters, as there are now many parents who earnestly desire some suitable provision for the education of their children.

But there is a caution especially necessary to Missionaries and others who may labour in Spain. A happy feeling of union begins to prevail among Christians in Great Britain; and in America, now a Missionary country, this blessed evidence of true Christianity is said to be yet more perfect. The union of true Churches will increase with the growth of piety; and we are bound to represent it fairly in Spain. Our lesser questions must not be discussed there; for we have to conduct unitedly a great controversy with soul-destroying error, and this must give employment to all our energies. In that country we are equally foreigners; and it must be clearly understood, that there no one denomination of Christians is to assume superiority over another. Church and State must there go free. Except for the sake of occasional protection, Consuls may not have much to do with our Missionaries; but, doubtless, the British Minister would always extend such protection to them all, as would support them equally in the estimation of the Spaniards, and prevent jealousies and counterworkings which would be at once destructive of their peace, and an hinderance to their usefulness. Indeed, it behoves all the Ministers of Christ, who may meet in view of foreign populations, to bear in mind, that all have

duties to perform, all have reasonable claims to urge, and each has need of all the sympathy and counsel that can be found for him. And as all are bound to honour Christ, so are they to show, that his disciples and messengers are one, and that Protestants are not divided against each, in hostile sects, as Romish controversialists allege; but that as we all stand on one foundation, and acknowledge with perfect unanimity every fundamental article of faith, we can, without any sacrifice of what is distinctive to each, join in that which is common to all. No sectarian Missionary, if such there be, will be competent to minister in Spain.

After providing for our fellow-subjects, we shall have to meet the case of Spain itself. It must not be, that pure Christianity continue to be proscribed in that country, springing up, as it is, into a new state of social and national importance. Advancing, as they are, to occupy their right position among the nations of the world, the Spaniards must not be suffered to remain in a state of spiritual bondage. It is now certain, that they are accessible to the truth, and that the more enlightened wish for perfect liberty, not of conscience, which may not be enough, but of expression, and of action. If our measures be such as do not involve any aggression on the civil authorities, we may calculate on degrees of protection, increasing together with the progressive improvement of laws and administration. For some years past we have enjoyed the favourable opinion of the Magistrate, who has approved of our undertaking, and generally turned a deaf ear to the clamours raised against us, until an obsolete law was pleaded, or a royal order got up, and its execution pertinaciously insisted on in so public and official a manner, that refusal was no longer possible. Meanwhile the Gospel was preached, and a small congregation of Spanish Protestants, yet waiting in Cadiz for a Pastor, is the earnest of success which

God has given; and these, as the first-fruits of Spain, claim our persevering care. The English Missionary in that port would not fail to assist them, and use such means of fostering the infant church as necessity would suggest, and circumstances allow.

But, in Spain, the state of things is ever changing; and that which cannot be done to-day will be practicable to-morrow. The laws must necessarily change. In none of the enactments made by the Cortes since the year 1837 has there been, as I believe, a sentence by which the country is committed to a course of intolerance. It is true, that religious liberty has not been given to the press, and that the laws of the Partidas have not been explicitly abrogated. But these are measures now contemplated; and if Protestants assume the solemn exercise of their religion in that kingdom, this circumstance alone will create a demand for liberty, and give rise to a new series of events that must inevitably issue in the attainment of the end desired.

The Constitution acknowledges as Spaniards "all persons born in the dominions of Spain, and foreigners who, without having obtained letters of naturalization, have established themselves as householders in any town of the monarchy." * Now, let but never so small a stream of true experimental piety flow into the country, by the channel of but one British family or community, established in any town of Spain, and let this be kept alive by a due use of means of grace; let the hallowing flame kindle, as it would do, into a more intense ardour within its little sphere; let the ground be maintained from year to year in faith and patience; and then, without any exciting controversy, or extraordinary effort, there will be Spaniards enjoying Christian privileges under the shadow of their

* Title i., art. 1.

original right as British subjects. This result would have been exhibited long ago, but for our own unfaithfulness, at the same time that our adversaries have never relaxed their vigilance. Among the many means employed to prevent or suppress any developement of earnest piety among the English resident in Spain, chaplaincies have been endowed for the maintenance of Irish Priests, who were employed "to make friends of English merchants and others, with the view of bringing them over to the Catholic faith." * These emissaries were never idle; and have been too successful in times past in barring up the entrance against Protestantism; which, if ever it had assumed vigour, even without church or chapel, must have rapidly found its way into the very heart of Spanish society, and that in spite of the Inquisition, as it did in the days of Luther.

To this view of the subject it will perhaps be objected, that the incipient churches which it is proposed to found would be harassed, persecuted, and probably dispersed by the violence of individuals in power, who might be engaged to act against them. This is the strongest objection to our enterprise which I can imagine could be urged. But we reply:

That if English Protestants should be persecuted in Spain, on account of worshipping God in their own language, and for hearing sermons from their own Ministers, such acts of persecution would be without precedent since, I believe, the reign of our Queen Elizabeth, and would be unsupported by Spanish law, which does not contemplate such cases, and could not be carried into effect without such a manifest violation of the rights of foreigners, as no civilized Government would be likely to commit.

* I knew of one such endowment in Malaga, and there were or are probably others in various places.

As regards worship in the Spanish language, it must be solemnized by British subjects not understanding English; and many such would be found in the schools and families under the pastoral care of the Missionaries, but who are undoubtedly free to observe the religion of their fathers, whatever language may be the medium of instruction, praise, and prayer.

Spaniards not being British subjects, are at present liable to the arbitrary interference of the civil authority. Yet the law, as we have seen, is too severe to be carried into effect, and not only so, but is utterly incompatible with both the letter and spirit of the Constitution. At present a discretional power is allowed to the Magistrates; and we have seen small fines imposed, but this was during the temporary dominance of a retrograde Government. It would now be difficult for any civil power to proceed against a peaceable company of worshippers without losing its character, if not also endangering public tranquillity. This is a doubtful state of things, it is true; but it cannot long continue; and meanwhile an unoccupied and undisputed field of labour lies fairly open among our neglected countrymen, on which it is unquestionably our duty to enter without delay.

And whoever shall enter on this field will have work enough to do. On him it will devolve to exemplify his doctrine to those who are prejudiced against it. His manner of life, and that of his family, as he governs his children with all gravity, will be a living confutation of the numberless calumnies by which alone we are now represented to the mass of the people. His domestic regulations will be so many inviolable laws of Christian propriety, which will invite the attention and engage the respect and confidence of all disinterested observers within his neighbourhood. Devoted, as he must be, to necessary studies, he will

be well prepared to answer inquirers, to satisfy those who doubt, and to rebut objections. He will preach, though but to one hearer at a time, yet often so effectually that the auditor shall become in turn a teacher. He will watch for those nameless means of doing good which are afforded in a thousand opportunities, and make up altogether a sum of providential preparation for more extended and more palpable success. But, alas! one is almost ashamed to be reminded, that all Protestantism does not as yet afford one such man for Spain. Not one is there waiting to use the happy conjuncture, to be ready for the approaching season of religious freedom.

I would not offer my own conjecture that such a season is at hand; but can affirm that it is generally expected by Spaniards as the necessary result of the events recorded in the present volume. Many extracts from periodicals might have been collected in evidence of this prevailing expectation; but a fragment of correspondence on the subject is preserved, which bears more distinctly the mark of authenticity. The attention of the Cortes had been invited, by a circular letter addressed to each Member, in which the religious state of the country was pointed out, and the whole summed up in the following sentences:—

"It is urgent, then, that those atrocious laws of the Partidas, which are still held to be in force, should be forthwith annulled. I know that they cannot now be carried into execution in all their rigour, thanks to the good sense of the Spanish people, who desire no more *autos de fé;* but it is left to the pleasure of the Magistrate to impose such penalties as he chooses, or as he can; and thus is sanctioned the fearful doctrine, that law, justice, the rights of individuals, and their safety, are to be subjected to the inveterate prejudice and the anti-evangelical spirit of some furious zealot

(for such there are) of the Church of Rome; and that it is lawful for the Magistrate to intrude into the sacred court of conscience, notwithstanding what is laid down in the ninth article of the Constitution.*

"The laws of the Partidas are not all that have to be amended. There are royal Decrees formed according to them. These edicts of despotism are sought out with avidity, and executed without pity. It is necessary to cancel them altogether.

"This being done, a system of religious liberty should be established; not, however, loosing the rein in such a manner that impiety should triumph even over superstition; but that all should be free to exercise the worship which they believe to be most agreeable to God. Let the enjoyment of their religious rights be granted to the people; for without these, civil rights will never be assured to them; and let every one be permitted to use that just liberty which will neither prejudice his fellow-citizens, nor draw down the anathemas and persecutions of the Clergy on himself."

To this address a leading Deputy replied as follows:—

"Your favour of —— lies before me. Its context contains doctrines which all we who are good Spaniards regard as necessary to complete the system of liberty which Spain has won at the cost of so great sacrifices. The same arguments which you employ with so much right judgment (*acierto*) exist in our convictions; but all the difficulty consists in that the present situation of the political parties of Spain is not compatible with an innovation of so great magnitude, because without doubt the partisans of moral darkness, (*oscurantismo,*) who are speculative fanatics

* "No Spaniard can be prosecuted or sentenced but by the competent judge or tribunal," &c.

would make much out of a question, which must be necessarily deferred until the civil liberty of the Spaniards shall have been secured.

"This is not said to put off your suggestions with the intention of not accepting them; as perhaps, in the Legislature of next year, (1842,) we may, without so much hazard as at present, take up our first argument in favour of liberty of worship. I have the satisfaction to offer you the services of," &c.

This letter was written while the laws for the alienation of church-property, and for the maintenance of the Clergy by the State, were but just promulged, and not fully carried into effect. And although it was well to moot the question of "liberty of worship," it must be acknowledged, that any direct attempt at legislation just then might have been rather premature: but it has long been apparent, that there is a growing desire, nay, a deliberate intention, to abolish every vestige of religious bondage in Spain. This is now placed beyond all doubt; and if the Christian public of England would but establish two or three evangelical congregations there, they would not only engage the eternal gratitude of many reclaimed wanderers, but would be welcomed as co-operators by the best part of the Spaniards themselves. The Constitutional press, which, notwithstanding its many and gross defects, is an agency of great value, will be with us on this question; and it already gives the public mind a turn, which prepares the people for the reception of those important truths which we may hope soon to impart more largely, by means of an emancipated press.

But, to revert yet once again to Gibraltar: however the affairs of Spain may fluctuate, and how numerous soever the reverses which a Mission there may suffer for many years to come, it is satisfactory to know, that

in that town we have a station of security, where labours of extensive and permanent usefulness may be prosecuted, and this beyond the reach of Alcaldes and Political Chiefs. There, under the shield of British protection, we may use abundant opportunities of ever-increasing usefulness. By means of schools, the word of God will be kept in the hands of some hundreds of children and youth; and by that medium will find its way into the very heart of the native population, who are already so far influenced by Protestant principles, as to refuse to carry the yoke which their fathers were content to bear. This has been, and still is, demonstrated by facts. Out of those schools the Spanish congregation will ever be recruited; and they who are gathered into church-fellowship will thus possess the inestimable advantage of previous moral training, and a degree of intelligence superior to that of an equal number of converted peasantry in almost any part of England. Correspondence may be usefully conducted with Spain, and with Spaniards and other Europeans on the northern coast of Africa;* but chiefly in Spain the Missionary's influence would be powerfully felt, and his letters would tell far beyond the persons to whom they might be immediately addressed. Less than an hour's ride would take him to one neighbouring town, and less than two hours' to another. In one night, by the usual steam-

* I exchanged several letters with a pious and devoted French soldier, on service at Oran, where he preached not only to his comrades, but to several French inhabitants, who assembled in a room kindly provided for him by J. Welsford, Esq.; and if the Missionary at Gibraltar could so far disengage himself from that busy station as to pay periodical visits to some of the little communities on the sea-board of the opposite continent, his presence would be welcomed, and his sermons, &c., might be incalculably beneficial.

boat conveyance, he may reach either Cadiz or Malaga, large and populous cities, and spend a few days in either from time to time, multiplying connexions, and preparing for the most important results. In Gibraltar there are always helps to be had, at little expense, for the acquisition of the language; than which perhaps another cannot be found better suited to the gravity of style proper for sacred subjects, or more capable of being expressed with strength and pathos in the delivery of exhortation and instruction. His pen may be constantly employed (yet not without the assistance of a native) in preparing translations of suitable tracts and books; and if it should be found practicable to advance on the beginning which has been made for the formation of a library of divinity and ecclesiastical history, an excellent press, and a secure depository, already exist in that town.

The Spanish language must be used as the medium of oral instruction, both in the schools and from the pulpit; and this for two good reasons: first, there is an unchristian prejudice among many persons against all that is Spanish, of which the natives themselves unhappily partake; and while the easier way might be to use our language to those who cannot well understand it, the consequence would be a strengthening of the prejudice of caste which ever injured the cause of God there. And again, by the attempted substitution of a foreign instead of the vernacular language, the bulk of the native inhabitants who chiefly correspond with their relatives, friends, and general connexions from Spain proper, would be cut off from communication with the Missionary, as also would inquirers and frequent visiters, who cannot trouble themselves to listen to him jabbering in a broken dialect, nor yet respect any information he might endeavour to communicate in such a way. Although stationed in Gibraltar, our

Evangelist must keep his eye steadily intent on Spain; which, being a foreign country, and very unlike our Indian possessions, where it is wise to spread the English language as widely as possible, must not, and will not, in any sense, be Anglicised.

Our Mission on "the rock" is well provided with two places of worship, fully occupied by English congregations, but not in the neighbourhood of the mass of Spanish inhabitants. These ought to have a neat little church for their exclusive use, to be served by a Minister whose whole heart and undivided energies should be spent in the field now before us; and when this provision shall be made, he will find full scope for all his energies, and an attentive and diversified congregation will demand assiduous application to the peculiar duty of pulpit ministration.

Crowded within the narrow limits of Gibraltar are two episcopal Establishments. There is the Vicar Apostolic (Bishop of Heliopolis) and his train; and there also the Bishop of Gibraltar with his. By the former it is certain that true Christianity cannot be promoted; and unless Anglicanism be well defecated from what it now is, instead of growing worse, as it threatens to do, it is not likely that the latter will be of much service. Between them it will behove us to maintain a peaceable position, not to wrangle with either, not to be diverted into idle controversy, unchristian personalities, or colonial broils; but to preach the Gospel to perishing sinners, and to keep an open door of spiritual communion for those who desire to "flee from the wrath to come." There are assembled a few who are walking, as we hope, in the light of God's countenance; and if they be not left as sheep without a shepherd, by the failure of Christian charity at home, which can hardly be feared, they will increase, and the Great Head of the church will not refuse to

make them as a city set on a hill, to which other converts at some future time shall be gathered, or from which messengers shall go forth to establish other congregations, where there will be large scope for rapid and far-extended increase.

The relative importance of Gibraltar as a Missionary station, cannot but appear from some parts of the preceding narrative; and whatever apprehensions might deter, whatever difficulties thwart, in Spain itself, not even timidity or unbelief could furnish an excuse for neglecting Gibraltar, our most important post in southern Europe.

But Spain shall yet be evangelized; and I lay aside the pen in the consolatory assurance, that she will soon be found within the circle of our sympathies; that not only private, but social and public, prayer will soon be offered up there in spirit and in truth; that churches which once served as seats of idolatry, and haunts of sloth, will be used for the solemnities of pure worship; that from those babes whose fathers have fallen in the defence of civil freedom, some will yet be gathered who shall wield the heavenly weapons of the Spirit, and, with not inferior courage, wage war against the remains of that system, but for which they had not now been orphans. Yes, I will dare to hope even again to witness listening crowds, drinking in with attentive gladness the water of life, and paying prompt and honest homage to the truth. One barrier, but one slight and rapidly-decaying barrier, is all that hinders. One effort, made by a few believing hearts and willing hands, would suffice to overturn it. May the divine Head of the universal church deign to own the feeble attempts which have been made, by stirring up at least a few to vindicate the honour of our common Christianity, to retrieve us from the reproach of heartless indifference to the state of our brethren in

Spain; and then hasten to help, by the outpouring of his Spirit, wherever two or three shall again be gathered together in his name! Amen.

More than two years have elapsed since the above paragraphs were written; and in that time many apparently untoward events have been reported from Spain. Once more a reign of terror has arrested the advance of peace, and a military despotism has been raised by foreign agency, with the design of restoring Popish power, and of promoting the political ascendancy of another continental State. Christina is in Spain again.

Yet I cannot see reason to surrender one hope, nor to abandon one suggestion.

Each successive calamity which befalls the Spanish people increases their mistrust of Popery, and thus induces an immense benefit. It also deepens in them a salutary feeling of national misery; of which, if Popery be the cause, an opposite system must be hailed by them as the remedy. To us it exhibits with yet more forcible demonstration their spiritual wretchedness; and if our object be in truth the renovation of the world, this demonstration must urge us onward in the arduous but Christlike enterprise, —the evangelization of Europe. There needs not any superior wisdom to predict, that Romanism must utterly fall in the Peninsula; for its decay is *positive*, and its eventual ruin is *inevitable*. Neither Christina, nor the Conclave, nor any other power now existing, can resist the mighty tide of national opinion, conviction, and resolve. The kingdom of Christ does advance; and in Spain his unconscious heralds are the breakers-up of anti-christian institutions, and the conflicting forces

of oppressor and oppressed. Nothing unprecedented has taken place there since the year 1842. Not the restoration of the Queen-mother; not a reconciliation with Rome, should that happen; nor even the re-establishment of monasticism, and of the Inquisition, were these things probable,—no reverse whatever could weaken my assurance, that the day is near at hand for the free promulgation of the Gospel at Madrid.

Rather do I cherish the thought, that God, in the mysterious operation of his wisdom, is preparing the country, by its very misfortunes, for a glorious transition from darkness into light, and somewhere or other training men for the work which He will have to be performed. The analogy between the past and the future will then be manifestly perfect; and perhaps we may be humbled, in the issue, by a discovery of the unfitness on account of which our instrumentality was so long rejected, or by a conviction of the slothfulness and unbelief by which we, in this day, may have been held back from the honourable toil.

It will be satisfactory to know, that the good seed already sown has not been trampled upon or destroyed. The few who attached themselves to our communion in Cadiz still profess adherence to Christ and his cause. They have not any rallying-point around which to become visible again as a religious body, not a Pastor whom to follow: but they keep "the leaven;" and "the lump," in that city at least, must be yielding to its influence. If our Mission had not been undertaken with the divine approbation, it would not have prospered, or, at least, after years of discontinuance, its vestiges would have been obliterated. But these continue. The Lord preserves the remembrance of his truth among that people, and we hope also some experience of his power.

If, then, the preceding pages have served to awaken or revive any interest in the salvation of Spaniards, let the holy concern thus excited lead men to the question: *If it was the will of God that his Gospel should be preached in Spain; that it should be welcomed there; and that some witnesses to its power should abide still amidst a host of adverse influences, and during a long famine of the word of life; can it be his will that that mission should be finally abandoned?* BUT THE MEANS ARE WANTING.

W. H. R.

March 14*th*, 1844.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 52.

DECREE CONCERNING THE ABOLITION OF THE INQUISITION, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF TRIBUNALS PROTECTIVE OF THE FAITH.

THE General and Extraordinary Cortes, desiring that the provision made in the 12th Article of the Constitution be carried out to the fullest effect, and that the faithful observance of so wise a measure be insured for the future, declare and decree:—

CHAPTER I.

ART. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be protected by laws consistent with the Constitution.

2. The Tribunal of the Inquisition is incompatible with the Constitution.

3. Therefore the law ii., title xxvi., partida 7, is re-established in its original force, inasmuch as it leaves free the authority of the Bishops and their Vicars to take cognizance in matters of faith, agreeably to the sacred Canons and common right, and those of the secular Judges to declare and inflict on heretics the penalties which the laws determine, or which shall be determined hereafter. The ecclesiastical and secular Judges shall proceed in their respective cases according to the Constitution and the laws.

4. Every Spaniard is at liberty to accuse of the crime of heresy at the Ecclesiastical Tribunal: in default of accuser, or even if there be one, the Ecclesiastical Fiscal shall take the place of accuser.

5. After the summary is drawn up, if there shall result therefrom sufficient cause to put the accused person on his trial, the

Ecclesiastical Judge shall cause him to appear, and admonish him in the manner pointed out by the above-cited law of Partida.

6. When the accusation shall be of a crime that should, according to the law, be followed by the corporal punishment of the criminal, and if the accused person is a layman, the Ecclesiastical Judge shall forward a statement of the case to the respective Judge, in order to his arrest, who shall have him in custody at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Judge, in order to further proceedings, until the conclusion of the cause. Military men who commit offences of this class shall enjoy no exemption. Therefore, when the cause is finished, the criminal shall be handed over to the Civil Judge, for his sentence, and the execution of the penalty. Should the accused be a secular or regular Ecclesiastic, the Ecclesiastical Judge shall proceed to his arrest.

7. Appeals shall follow in the same order, and be made before the Judges to whom it pertains to hear them, the same as in all other criminal ecclesiastical causes.

8. It shall be lawful to make appeals, (*recursos de fuerza,*) in the same manner as in all other ecclesiastical judgments.

9. When the ecclesiastical judgment shall have been given, a statement of the case shall be forwarded to the Secular Judge, and the criminal shall thenceforth remain at his disposal, in order that he may proceed to inflict on him the penalty which may be allowable according to the laws.

CHAPTER II.

ART. 1. The King shall take all convenient measures, in order that there be not introduced into the kingdom by the maritime and frontier Custom-houses prohibited books or writings, or any that are contrary to religion; those which may be in circulation being subject to the following regulations, and to those of the Law of Liberty of the Press.

2. The Reverend Bishop, or his Vicar, after the due censure of which the Law of Liberty of the Press speaks, shall give or withhold the licence for printing writings on religion, and shall prohibit those which are contrary to it, hearing first the parties interested, and naming some one to defend them, when no person appears for that purpose. The Ecclesiastical Judges, under the strictest responsibility, shall call in those writings which the Ordi-

nary shall have thus prohibited, as well as those which may have been printed without his licence.

3. The authors who think themselves wronged by the Ordinaries Ecclesiastical, whether by their refusal of licence to print, or by their prohibition of printed works, may appeal to the competent Ecclesiastical Judge in the accustomed form.

4. The Ecclesiastical Judges shall forward to the Offices of the Secretaries of their respective Governments, (provincial,) lists of the writings which they may have prohibited, and the same shall be forwarded to the Secretary of State, that he may give his judgment, after having heard the opinion of a board of enlightened persons, which he shall appoint yearly from among those who reside in the capital; and he may further consult any others whom he may think fit.

5. The King, after the judgment of the Council of State shall have made out a list of such of the writings denounced as shall be prohibited, and with the approbation of the Cortes, shall command it to be published; and it shall be held as law in all the monarchy, under the penalties which may be established. The Regency of the kingdom shall understand this, and provide what is necessary for its fulfilment, causing it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Miguel Antonio de Zumalacarregui, President.
Florio Castillo, Deputy and Secretary.
Juan Maria Herrera, Deputy and Secretary.

Given in Cadiz, February 22d, 1813.
To the Regency of the kingdom.

No. II. Page 70.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF POPE PIUS VII., TO D. FELIX TORRES AMAT.

Illmo. Signore,

Essendo pervenuti alla santità di nostro Signore i due volumi della versione da V. S. I. eseguita del Nuovo Testamento nell' idioma Spagnuolo, le significo che sua santità ha gradito tale

di lei pensiero, e mi ha ordinato di ringraziarla nel suo nome. La moltiplicità delle cose delle quali attualmente si occupa sua Beatitudine, e la sua non del tutto ripristinata salute, le hanno finora vietato di accingersi à scorrere l'opera indicata. Non dubita però ch'ella in tale laboro siasi strettamente tenuta ai principii ed alle regole ricevute ed approvate della Santa Chiesa. Con sentimenti di vera stima mi confermo di V. S. Il.

Affmo. per servirla,

Giu. Cardinal de la Somaglia.

Roma, Gennaro 26, 1824.

Sr. D. Felice Torres Amat, Sacrista della Chiesa di Barcelona, Madrid.

No. III. Page 72.

SPECIMEN OF A VERSION OF THE EPISTLES, BY D. FRANCISCO XIMENEZ.

1 Es muy cierto, hijo mio, que desea una cosa buena qual-
quiera que movido solamente del zelo de la honra de Dios y sal-
2 vacion de las almas desea ser Obispo. Pero es preciso procure
adornarse de las virtudes necesarias para esta dignidad. Con-
viene que el Obispo sea irreprehensible en sus costumbres, y
que no haya tenido ó no tenga mas que una muger al tiempo de
su eleccion. Ademas conviene, que sea sobrio, prudente,
modesto, y casto; debe exercer la hospitalidad con los pobres y
peregrinos; y estar instruido de tal manera en la religion, que
3 la enseñe con claridad á los fieles, y la sepa defender. No ha de
ser dado al vino, ni debe herir á nadie con sus palabras, ni con
sus manos; sino al contrario, modesto y suave en su conducta y
discursos. Debe huir de pleytos y de toda codicia, y manifestar
4 por el contrario su mansedumbre, caridad, y liberalidad. Pro-
curando educar santamente á sus hijos, y cuidando que en ellos
no vea deshonestidad ninguna, manifestará que gobierna bien su
5 casa, como está obligado. Porque si no sabe gobernarla, y la
abandona, ¿ como se juzgará que cuidará bien de la iglesia de
6 Dios, y de las almas fiadas á su direccion? No se debe elegir
para Obispo al que es recien convertido á la fé; porque hay

peligro de que forme grande opinion de verse preferido á otros, y llegue á envanecerse con la alta dignidad, y venga de esta suerte á la condenacion que padeció el diablo por su soberbia.
7 No basta que los Cristianos tengan buen concepto de él, sino tambien es necesario que los infieles no tengan motivo verdadero para censurar su conducta anterior á la eleccion, para que no sea despreciado; y viendo la mala opinion en que es tenido, venga á caer en desesperacion, que es lazo que suele poner el demonio.

No one who has read the inspired writings will recognise in this extract the least characteristic of inspiration, either as to style or principle.

No. IV. Page 124.

TRANSCRIPT AND VERSION OF A LETTER FROM JACOB COHEN.

שלומכם ירבה:

נגיע ליד החכם סיניור ו'ו. א'. רול אהובי:

וה המה ימים כחבתי לאדון. ועד היום עדין לא בא לידי תשובתו. ונם אומנם. לא היה לי שנאי לכתוב פעם אחרת. אף כי כן הוא רצוני. שידוע ומפורסם לאדוני. שלא אעבור על מצותי וחיובי. וביען כי עסקי הניחוני היום. בהיות יום שבתכם. אמרתי עתה אעשה את אשר דברתי. ואשלם נדרי.

כבר כתבתי לאדון באגרותי האחרונות כי היניעו לידו תשובותיו על טען הקושיות שהקשה אלי הנוצרי בנביאות ישעיא הכביא. אבל על כל מקום רציתי שאדון יעשה עמי החסד לשליח לי טסח הלשון שכתבתי וכן אראה. שידוע להוי למור. שכפי ענינות דעתי. וסברתי עדין תשובתו במקומם עומדת. ולא יש מה לחלוק על דברי. אומנם ידעתי ידועה נאמנה שאותיות מחכימות. ודברי אלהים חיים המה מדברים באוזני עם הארץ כאשר כתב משה עבד האל בתורתו. לא בשמים היא. ולא מעבר לים. ועל כן אמרו חכמינו. תורה בקרן זוית הרוצה לטול יבוא ויטול. שכל הרוצה באמונת אמרותיו השהוורות והקדושות מן השמים מסיטין אותו לבא בידיעתם. אבל אשאל מאל

שוכן מועטים שיאור לבנו. ויבאנן דרך אמונתו. כי הוא מלך מלכים. מלך רחמן. ולא יחפוץ בכלילת מעשי ידיו. ומה גם באותם המתסקים לבא דרך הישר. ולישב תחת כנפי שכינתו. וכל המדבק ברך. כדאי שירחמו טלו ושמשו יורח. סדר פרשת וירא אליו. יום כ"ב לחדש נוויאמברי ש" 1834

הצעיר בעבדי האל יעקוב בלחא אב הכוהן סט ז

"MAY your peace be multiplied. To reach the hand of the sage Señor W. H. Rule, my beloved. It is now days ago that I wrote to my Lord, and up to this day his answer has not reached my hands. And besides this, I have not had leisure to write again, although it was my desire to have done so; as is well known to my Lord, that I would not transgress my obligation and my duty. And as my business leaves me at rest to-day, it being the day of your Sabbath, I said, now I will do as I promised, and will fulfil my vow. I have already written to my Lord, in my last letters, the replies which I received on the subject of the objections which the Nazarean" (that is, Christian) "urged against me, out of the prophecies of Isaiah the Prophet. But with regard to the whole passage, I could wish that my Lord would do me the favour of sending me a copy of the very words which I wrote; and then I shall see, that it may be known what is to be said, according to the scantiness of my knowledge. And I will now await your definite reply, for there is no reason why we should differ about words. However, I fully acknowledge that we believe that letters impart wisdom. And the words of the living God are they which speak in the ears of the people of the earth, as wrote Moses, the servant of God, in his law: It is not in heaven. And it is not beyond the sea.* And therefore our wise men say: 'The law is exposed to view,' (literally, 'on the apex of the angle,') 'he who desires to take it, let him come and take it.' For they who love in faith its pure and holy sayings, bring it down from heaven to come to their knowledge. But I will ask of God, who dwelleth with the lowly, to enlighten our heart, and to lead us into the way of his faith. For he is King of kings, merciful King, and he takes no pleasure in the destruc-

* Here is an example of the Rabbinical method of quotation. Whether the writers of the New Testament quoted in this manner is perhaps *a question*. If so, this illustrates.

tion of the works of his hands. And (I will inquire) what also is in them, (authors) who exercise themselves to walk in the right way, and to dwell under the wings of his presence. And every one who is constant he blesseth. Surely he will be merciful to his dwelling, and his sun shall arise. Order of the Parashath, 'and appeared unto him.' The 23d day of the month November, 1834.

"The least of the servants of God, Jacob, son of Abraham the Cohen. May his end be good."

No. V. Page 154.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, AS RELATED BY THE INCA GARCILASO DE LA VEGA. HISTORY OF PERU, BOOK I., CHAPTER III.

ABOUT the year 1484, one more or less, a pilot, native of the town of Huelva, in the county Niebla, called Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, had a small vessel, with which he traded by sea, and was used to carry from Spain to the Canaries articles of merchandise which sold well there; and at the Canaries he took in the fruits of those islands, and carried them to the island of Madeira, and would thence return to Spain laden with sugar and preserves. As he was going on this triangular traffic of his, crossing over from the Canaries to the island of Madeira, he was overtaken by a storm so violent and tempestuous, that, not being able to resist it, he allowed himself to be carried away before it, and ran for twenty-eight or twenty-nine days without knowing where or whither; for in all this time he could not take the altitude by the sun nor by the north star. The crew suffered excessive labour during the tempest, because it neither allowed them to eat nor sleep. At the end of this long time the wind moderated, and they found themselves near an island; which it was is not known for certain, but it is supposed to have been the one which they now call Santo Domingo; and it is to be particularly observed, that the wind which with such violence and fury drave that ship could be no other than the *solano*, which they call "East," because the

island of Santo Domingo is westward of the Canaries, which wind in that voyage rather moderates storms than raises them. (This describes the trade-wind.) But the Lord Almighty, when he desires to show mercies, brings the most mysterious and necessary out of contrary causes, as he brought water out of the flinty rock, and sight for the blind man out of the clay which he put upon his eyes, in order that these works might be notoriously shown to be of divine mercy and bounty; so likewise did he make use of this his pity to send his Gospel and true light to all the New World, which had so great need of it; for they lived, or to speak better, they were perishing, in the darkness of Heathenism and idolatry, so barbarous and brutish, as we shall see in the course of this history. The pilot went on shore, took the altitude, and wrote down minutely all that he saw, and what had happened to him at sea; and, having laid in water and fire-wood, returned, guessing his way, without knowing his course either going or coming, so that he wasted more time than he should have done, and by this delay of the voyage his water and provisions were exhausted; from which cause, and in consequence of the fatigue which they had suffered both ways, the sailors began to sicken and die in such a manner, that of seventeen men who left Spain, no more than five reached Terceira, and among them the pilot, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva. They went to the house of the famous Christopher Colon, (Columbus,) a Genoese, because they knew that he was a great navigator and cosmographer, and that he made sea-charts. He received them with much love, and gave them good entertainment, that he might know the things which had befallen them in such a strange and long wreck, as that which they said they had suffered. And as they came so worn out with the sufferings they had passed through, notwithstanding all the kindness which Christopher Colon showed them, they could not recover, and all died in his house, leaving him for an inheritance the labours which had caused their death; which the great Colon accepted with so much cheerfulness and courage, that having suffered others as great, and even greater, for they lasted longer, he succeeded in the enterprise of giving the New World and its riches to Spain, as he set it for motto on his arms: *A Castilla y à Leon, Nuevo Mundo dió Colon*.....The very Reverend Father José de Acosta also touches on this history of the discovery of the New World, with regret

that he could not give it entire; as indeed his Paternity was defective in part of his relation of this circumstance, as of others more modern, because the old conquerors had all died off when his Paternity went into those parts, on which he says these words in book i., chap. xix.: "Having shown that the thought cannot be admitted that the first inhabitants of the Indies should have reached them by navigation undertaken to that end, it follows that if they came by sea, it must have been by chance, and by stress of storms, which, notwithstanding the immense extent of the ocean, is not a thing incredible. For so it happened in the discovery of our times, when that mariner, (whose name we do not yet know, that so great a business may not be attributed to any author but to God alone,) having by a terrible and unseasonable tempest found out the New World, left, in payment of his good hospitality, to Christopher Colon the knowledge of so great a thing."

This is a classical passage in the controversy about the discovery of America, adopted by some, and rejected as marvellous and incredible by others. But if its verisimilitude be allowed to influence our judgment, and the period in the history of the world when the discovery of that continent took place be kept in view, that great event will be characterized yet more remarkably as a providential work of God; making an apparent casualty contribute to the great social revolution which was beginning then, was accelerated by the discovery of printing, and the secession of nations from the Romish superstition, and which is advancing now not less obviously than at the seasons of greatest excitement within the last three or four centuries. Less of romance remains in the history of Columbus, if Alonso Sanchez saw the West Indies before him; but this matters nothing.

No. VI. Page 183.

DECREE FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUITS IN SPAIN IN THE YEAR 1835.

ROYAL DECREE.

THE prosperity and well-being of the State require that the pragmatic sanction of the 2d of April, 1767, which forms the law 3, title 26, book 1, of the *nueva recopilacion*, should be re-established in full force; insomuch as by it my august great-grandfather, Don Carlos III., thought well to suppress in all the monarchy the Order known by the name of "Company of Jesus," taking possession of their temporalities. And having heard the council of Government, and that of Ministers, I have resolved to command, in the name of my exalted daughter the Queen Doña Isabel II., that which follows:—

1. "The Company of Jesus," which it was commanded by the decree of May 29th, 1815, should be re-established, is suppressed for ever in all the territory of the Spanish monarchy; which decree is accordingly revoked and annulled, as it had already been by the Cortes of 1820.

2. The members of the Company shall not form themselves again into any body or community, under any pretext, but shall take up their abode in such towns of the Peninsula as they may choose, with approbation of the Government; where they who are ordained *in sacris* shall reside as secular Clergy, subject to the respective Ordinaries, without using the habit of the said Order, or holding any correspondence with, or dependence on, the superiors of the Company that are out of Spain. And they who are not ordained *in sacris*, shall be as secular persons, subject to the ordinary judicial authorities.

3. Their temporalities shall be taken possession of without a moment's delay, including their goods and effects, as well moveables and live stock, as landed estates, and the civil and ecclesiastical revenues, which the Regulars of the Company possess in the kingdom; allowing for their charges, and the sustenance of the said Regulars, for which shall be allowed five reals (about thirteen pence) daily for the Priests during their life, or as long

as they shall not be otherwise provided for as such, and three reals for the Lay Brethren in like manner, which shall be paid to them every six months out of the chest of amortization, but which those shall forfeit who leave the kingdom.

4. This maintenance for life shall not be granted to the foreign Jesuits who are within the Spanish dominions, either in their colleges or out of them, nor yet to the novices, as these are not yet pledged to the profession.

5. The goods, rents, and effects of whatsoever kind, which the Regulars of the Company now possess, are henceforth applied to the extinction of the debt, or to the payment of their allowances. However, from this appropriation shall be excepted the paintings, libraries, and furniture, which may be useful for the institutions of sciences and arts; as also the colleges, dwellings, and houses of the Company, their churches, ornaments, and sacred vessels, of which I reserve it to myself to dispose, having heard the ecclesiastical Ordinaries as to what may be necessary and convenient. Ye shall have this understood, dispose as may be necessary for its fulfilment. This is rubricked by the royal hand. Aranjuez, July 4th, 1835. To D. Manuel García Herreros.

THE END.

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